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A CATHOLIC LOOKS AT HISTORY

THE past few years have been remarkable for the renewed interest displayed in many of the fundamental problems underlying history, its nature and its purpose. To be sure, critics have never been wanting to question the methods and conclusions of historians. But what is unusual about the present revival is the noticeable stir among historians themselves, as well as among their critics. A serious examination of conscience is under way, in which the dominant note is, on the whole, one of scepticism, even pessimism. Many who do not yield fully to this temptation are at least troubled in mind. All are certainly less sure of themselves and of their *métier* than were their predecessors of a generation or two ago, the historians of the scientific and positivistic age.[1] Hence the timeliness for a Catholic to reconsider his position on some of these problems.[2]

It would be idle to attempt any discussion of the true nature and the proper purpose of history without first considering what we mean by the word itself, "history." An examination of conscience as regards our ability to employ words with anything approaching exact precision would be profitable to most of us today; for the

[1] This uneasy state of mind has been graphically portrayed by a French historian, writing under the pseudonym of Henri Davenson, in his article, "Tristesse de l'historien," *Esprit*, April 1, 1939. Ross Hoffman has likewise given an account of it in an article entitled "Catholicism and Historismus," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXIV (1939), 401-412.

[2] These reflections represent, in large part, the substance of a paper read before a group of Catholic graduates of the University of Toronto.

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loose use of terms is not only a result of confused thinking, but likewise the cause of further confused thinking and the cause also of disagreement, nay bitter dissension. Men are aroused even to violence by words like "democracy" and "liberty" and "progress," without, in many cases, being able to say what they mean by them. Disagreement, if less violent, is quite as profound regarding terms like art, prudence, science, wisdom, and a host of others. "History" might well be added to the list. Much of the controversy as to the nature and purpose of history springs directly from the failure to agree in the first place on the exact connotation of the word "history." Perhaps it is true, as one writer has expressed it, that "history admits of no very exact definition." But, without going so far as a formal definition according to genus and specific difference, it would still be useful to define history, at least in the root sense of the word define, namely, to "delimit" it. Is history the actual happenings themselves; is it something in our minds; or is it something in books? Does it deal with men only; or does it deal also with animals and plants, the earth and the heavens? Is it just the story of *what* took place, or does it include as well an explanation of *how* and *why* things took place?

To begin with, the difference between history understood as events and history as something known by us or as something written down is more apparent than real. All three are but aspects of the same thing. Events, happenings, persons of the past are the concrete reality which forms the material object of historical studies. These same things when known or written down constitute, from a formal point of view, "history" as knowledge or books.[3] As to extension, does history include aught beyond facts relating to men alone? Certainly it is more common to conceive of history as dealing primarily with human beings; yet man cannot be rightly considered

[3] It is interesting to note in this connection that the two roots which give to all the languages of Western Europe their word for history represent these two points of view. The German *Geschichte* and the allied words in the other Germanic tongues come from the same root as *geschehen*, to "happen." Our word "history" goes back, with the French *histoire*, from which it was taken, and with the other Romance words, to the Latin *historia*, which is itself no more than the Latin rendering of the same word in Greek, meaning "a fact learned by inquiry."

apart from his environment, so that, strictly speaking, history is obliged to take into account nature as well as men. Nature does at times prove an extremely important factor in shaping historical events, and it has certainly to be included in so far as it affects the lives of men. Nevertheless, in order to avoid a confusion of sciences, the study of nature as such is usually left to what we call the natural sciences (formerly known as natural *history*, it might be observed).

These first two possible sources of confusion as to what history is are more easily disposed of than the third one, which is not only more controverted, but likewise more vital. It will need to be treated at greater length.

In how far is history mere story, and in how far explanation? In how far is history an account *of* the past, and in how far has it the task of accounting *for* the past? If the root-meaning of the word "history" itself be taken as a guide, it would seem to deal primarily with learning the *facts* of the past. This would appear to be Aristotle's notion too when he says that the historian "describes the thing that has been," and that "the statements of history are singulars."[4] Nevertheless, because these facts of history do not themselves contain their full explanation, men, from the very beginning, have been impelled to go farther and seek their deeper meaning in the light of other principles and truths. Do they then leave the field of history, properly speaking, as soon as they seek this further explanation? If it will serve to clarify the terminology, there is no harm in admitting this and in agreeing that history, in the strict sense, is nothing more than the discovering and recording of the facts of the past; for it is certainly true that, when one seeks to *explain* these facts, he has to deal with "history *plus*," invoking, as he does, principles from outside history itself. On the other hand, since it is the very facts of history which are to be explained, the connection is still very close. If the further step is not history pure and simple—and it is not—it does, nevertheless, partake to some extent of the nature of history, and we could hardly refuse to admit it into the family of historical studies. Bearing this dis-

[4] *Poetics*, ch. 9.

tinction in mind, we might group works on history into four great classes.[5]

The first class comprises those works whose direct object is to investigate the historicity of events. Here is the historian working on the lowest level, the scholarly and scientific researcher, who struggles through masses of original source materials, criticizing them, weighing their value, combining them, balancing them one against another, in order to determine whether we are justified in saying that this did or did not happen, and that it happened in this wise or that. He is what his critics disparagingly term the "fact-finder." His speech is yea, yea, and nay, nay. But be fair to him; his work, if not spectacular, is absolutely fundamental, without which all the greater historical elaborations, syntheses, and even philosophies, would be like the house of the man in the Gospel who built upon sand: *The rain fell and the floods came and the winds blew; and they beat upon that house; and it fell, and great was the fall thereof* (Matt. 7: 27).

The second class of historical writings is made up of these greater elaborations, including a wide range from the syntheses represented by school and college text-books to works of art like those of Gibbon, Macaulay, Michelet, Taine, and others. They depend for their value, as *historical works*, on the painstaking, oft ill-rewarded labors of the poor "fact-finder." They stand, so to speak, on the shoulders of the researcher. Whatever be their literary value, they are worth, historically, no more and sometimes less than the more basic works upon which they have drawn for their information. For, what will it profit a man to paint with broad and firm strokes the most beautiful and even coherent canvas of the past, if the very elements of his picture be false or all too uncertain to be convincing? It is perhaps with this group of historical works that we are all most familiar both from our school experience and from our general reading. Since its first purpose is still to recount what took place in the past, it remains therefore in the realm of history, even in the strictest sense.

[5] Frank Sheed suggested such a classification in an article on Christopher Dawson, which he contributed to *The Sign*, June, 1938, p. 663.

Beyond the historians who tell simply what happened and those who trace the sweep of broader movements, linking up isolated events in a certain primary causal relationship, there are those who, not finding in the events themselves their ultimate explanation, introduce a set of truths or unifying principles, in the light of which history as a whole takes on a rational meaning. Men in every age have felt that history has this deeper meaning, that it has a "why" as well as a "what" and "how." The ancients proposed a mythological explanation and saw men as puppets of the gods. St. Augustine and Christian thinkers of the Middle Ages in general found a quite different explanation, as we shall see in a moment. The eighteenth century put forward a deistic theory, while closer to our own time Marx and his followers have taught a thoroughgoing materialistic conception of history. All who seek to explain history through reason and nature alone remain in the "philosophy of history," properly so-called. Hegel and Marx have undoubtedly been the most influential of these. If men go a step farther and introduce what they know, by revelation, of God and creation, of man and his destiny, then they are in what should rather be termed the "theology of history." The latter constitutes the fourth class of studies or writings on history.

No Catholic, indeed no sincere Christian, can very well escape having a "theology of history," because, whether we like it or not, we *are*, and we *know* that we are, the creatures of God almighty, composed of body and soul, endowed with sanctifying grace, which is nothing less than a share in God's own life, and put into this world to work towards the one end for which we were created, namely, the enjoyment of God in heaven for all eternity. And this we are permitted to do *freely;* we have been wounded and weakened by original sin, whereby our task is made the harder, but we have likewise been redeemed by Christ and furnished with all the helps and graces necessary to the achieving of our final end. These facts are not usually looked upon as the matter of history—and they are not facts of history, as such—yet they represent the fundamental truths about man's life on earth, and, since it is the life of men on the earth that is the object of history, how can we leave out these great truths when we come to seek the ultimate explanation

of history? Even George Santayana could see that "to divorce, as the modernists do, the history of the world from the story of salvation, and God's government and the sanctions of religion from the operation of matter, is a *fundamental apostasy* from Christianity." [6] It is for this reason that St. Augustine, Dante, Bossuet, and hundreds of less well-known writers, have taught throughout the whole Christian era that we can never hope to grasp the true and final meaning of history, unless we recognize that God's plan and God's providence are somehow working in it. Pope Leo XIII, in his Brief on historical studies, has said: "All history proclaims in one way or another that there is a God ruling by his divine providence the various and perpetual movements of human affairs." [7] We may not always be able to see God's purpose clearly. Indeed, how could we expect to? Does not St. Paul tell us: *Incomprehensible are His judgments and inscrutable His ways?*

Such, then, are our four classes of historical works, in an ascending order from scholarly research about individual facts up to the ultimate explanation of the course of history in the light of supernatural truths. It does not follow, of course, that each and every book will fall conveniently into one or another of these groups exclusively. The same book may belong in part to one and in part to another. So too, the same writer may devote himself now to works of research, now to textbooks, and now to treatises on the deeper meaning of history. It is, moreover, extremely likely that the last named type of work will preoccupy him more and more as he advances in years; for, when the vigor and self-assurance of youth and maturity are gone, particular facts in history seem to assume much less importance than does the significance of history as a whole. For similar reasons, men become more conscious of the fundamental problems underlying the whole movement of history in periods of crisis and disruption, like the age of St. Augustine, for instance, or our own day, just as "scientific" and "positivistic" history, on the other hand, could only have triumphed in a materially successful and relatively secure epoch like the latter part of the

[6] *Winds of Doctrine* (London, 1926), p. 34.

[7] *Saepenumero Considerantes* (1883); all the quotations from Pope Leo XIII in this paper are from the same Brief.

nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century, with its interest centered upon *things*.

It is difficult to conceive of an historian who could refrain from putting to himself, sooner or later, the question "why?". He may not always find the answer—more often he will not—but the question at least is inevitable, since it is not of the nature of man to remain content with "bare facts" which do not offer an explanation of themselves.[8] Does he become less of an historian in pursuing this line of inquiry? If, as has been said, clarity of terminology demands a change of name at this point, all well and good. But it must be granted that, in so far as the historian is at the same time a man, a reasoning creature, he will undoubtedly want some further explanation of the facts which he has learned from his history.[9] Deny him henceforth the title of historian, if you will, but you can hardly prevent him from looking beyond any more than you can prevent the experimental physicist from seeking in theoretical physics an explanation of the phenomena which he observes in his laboratory, or the physician from striving to explain the peculiarities of a particular patient in the light of his general knowledge of medical science.

Granting that the historian, though now reduced to a mere man, may be interested in this deeper meaning of history, and profoundly concerned about its ultimate explanation, dare we say, nevertheless, that he is logically the one on whom should devolve the task of providing the explanation, in so far as this can be given? Or is it

[8] A passage in T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* gibes at this dehumanized thing called the "historical fact"; reduction to the state of "historical fact" is the most miserable fate that can await the memory of a man:

> "And later is worse, when men will not hate you
> Enough to defame or to execrate you,
> But pondering the qualities which you lacked
> Will only try to find the historical fact.
> When men shall declare that there was no mystery
> About this man who played a certain part in history."

[9] Pope Leo XIII points out that even the young student, when he passes from elementary to higher stages of education in history as in other studies, passes naturally from a mere narrative of events to the examination of their causes.

rather a person versed in the other branches of knowledge [10] necessary to the explanation who, accepting the facts of history established by the historian, should seek to interpret them and fit them into the vaster scheme of which they are admittedly but a part? Either alternative has its disadvantages, since the expert in one field is necessarily less skilled, if not altogether unskilled, in others. Perhaps the task calls for the creation of a special rôle, that of the "philosopher" or "theologian" of history. In which case, he could approach from either starting point, provided he be adequately trained in the other discipline or disciplines as well. Nevertheless, it would seem preferable, and indeed more natural, to begin with the historical training. Solidly grounded in thorough methods of research, and himself a practising historian, he will be in an excellent position to defend the philosophy of history against the accusation of ignoring, if not flouting, actual facts. There is, at the same time, a natural tendency, as we have seen, to reach out from concrete, contingent facts towards an explanation of these facts, whereas the theological and philosophical sciences have less need of history, being more or less sufficient to themselves. If there is one thing against which the prospective "philosopher" or "theologian" of history must be on his guard, it is the desire to proceed too rapidly. Let him be altogether docile (*docibilis:* "teachable") to reality, ever humble before the object, slow to conclude that he has the final answer in every case. This would be to be God. Besides profound knowledge, both the prudent judgment of experience and the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit are necessary before one can so much as approach the true meaning of the course of history as a whole and the ultimate purpose of its parts.

If we bear in mind the distinction already made between the four classes of historical writings, it will aid us in detecting more readily the fallacy of those who charge all Catholic historians, from the mere fact of their Catholicism, with being necessarily biased, on the

[10] Just what this knowledge would comprise, is not easy to specify. It would seem to demand the theological, philosophical and social sciences. In the words of Pope Leo XIII, when we turn our mind to "the consideration of the evolution and phases of social bodies (*itinera flexusque civitatum*), we must not be lacking in a solid knowledge of the causes which govern human affairs (*illa vera scientia causarum, quibus res continentur humanae*)."

ground that their profession of previously defined and immutable dogmas loads them with a prejudice (*prae-judicium*), which therefore precludes all possibility of strict objectivity in their historical researches. It is extremely doubtful if anyone, be he Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, or Atheist, can be strictly and absolutely objective in the rôle of historian. But this is not the problem under discussion; we are concerned only to know whether the Catholic as such is any less objective than the others. And the answer is, of course, that he is not. It should be noted that objectivity, even relative, is possible in but the first two classes of historical studies; for, when a man introduces principles from without to help explain the meaning of history, there must enter at once a certain subjective element. But, in the first two classes, the Catholic, no matter how deep his religious convictions, does not, and *must* not, if he is true to his vocation as historian, introduce these into the rational process whereby he attempts to reconstruct the facts of the past. Indeed, there is every reason why the Catholic can and should be the most objective of all historians in his researches, for he knows in advance that the truth of the doctrines, which he holds as the most vital thing in his life, depends in no way on the results of his researches; their truth is of an entirely different order, guaranteed by faith, and neither acquired nor to be defended by purely rational processes, historical or otherwise.

Having nothing to fear therefore as regards the fundamentals of his "philosophy of life," the Catholic should be able to approach the past with the greatest freedom, and even abandon. He will meet there the much publicized "skeletons": bad popes, corrupt monasteries, heretical theologians, numbers of Catholics in the most Christian of all ages falling short of the ideal proposed to them by their religion. These are historical facts, but they do not at all affect the truth of his religion. If the Catholic historian rightly understands this, it should serve as a very real guarantee of his objectivity. Moreover, far from adopting a merely negative attitude of refusal to be scandalized by the discovery of such "unpleasant" facts as those just mentioned, he can very well draw profit from them. Do they not bear abundant witness to the weakness inherent in human nature as a result of original sin? Are they

not also a strong argument for the divinity of the Church, which has gloriously survived these malignant evils that tore at her very heart? Not that the proof of such truths *depends* on historical evidence; but arguments drawn from history have a validity as corroboratory evidence comparable to that of reason in support of the truths of faith. No less an authority than the supreme head of the Church can be adduced in support of this statement. In the year 1883, Leo XIII wrote as follows:

> The authentic records of history, when considered with a mind calm and freed from prejudice, are in themselves a magnificent and spontaneous defense of the Church and the Supreme Pontificate. In them may be seen the true nature and the true greatness of Christian institutions. In her arduous conflicts and her splendid victories are revealed the divine power and strength of the Church; and by the clear testimony of facts are made evidently manifest the great benefits which the Supreme Pontiffs have conferred on all nations.

And Pius XI, in his Encyclical, *Lux Veritatis* (1931), said:

> History as the light of truth and witness of the ages, if properly investigated and diligently explored, shows that the divine promise made by Jesus Christ: *I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world*, has never failed His spouse, the Church, and will certainly never fail in future.

It would not be at all surprising if the Church, to whom it fell to defend the cause of reason against those, who, reacting against extreme rationalism, denied to it any efficacy whatsoever, should prove even in our time to be the champion of history against the present-day movement which, in a reaction against positivistic history, tends to the opposite pole of historical agnosticism.[11] It is Pope

[11] Positivistic history and historical agnosticism are alike consequences of a failure to understand the nature of historical knowledge. One might go farther and say that the whole controversy over history and its value depends on the solution of this fundamental question; and it is unfortunately still unsolved. The question is a philosophical one; a philosopher, not an historian, must answer it. It is extremely desirable at the present moment that someone should do for history what Jacques Maritain has done for other branches of knowledge in his *Degrés du savoir* and his *Science et sagesse*. A discussion of the exact nature and validity of historical knowledge and its place in the general scheme of human knowledge would help greatly to clarify the issue by putting these problems on their true basis; and it would in the end do much

Leo XIII again who urges the Catholic historian to push his researches to the very limit with but one aim, that of discovering the truth, whether it be a truth to his liking or not. "Men are needed," he declares, "well versed in these historical studies, who will set themselves to write with the intention and aim of making known the truth." And he goes on to make his own the words of Cicero to the effect that the first law of history is "never to dare to state what is false and ever to dare to state what is true, lest there be suspicion of partiality or animosity."

These latter considerations have really introduced a new topic: what is the proper aim of history, what is its true purpose, what service does it render? And well we may ask, when we see to what ends it has been misused, what problems it has been asked to solve! Poor History has been asked to tell us whether we should believe in God and whether the Pope is infallible; she has been asked to say whether Alsace is French or German and whether there is such a thing as a Czech nation; she has been asked to say whether a building is beautiful or not, according as it conforms or fails to conform with certain historical styles of architecture. These and many other propositions do have a history, but their intrinsic truth does not depend upon the judgment of history. Whatever be the true role of Clio, it is certainly not that of supreme arbiter in all controversies. Her part is humbler by far.

Teachers have attempted to stimulate the interest of their history pupils by suggesting to them that a knowledge of the past would be of great help to them, if not in foreseeing, at least in preparing for, the future. Alas! one of our proverbs which needs a very careful commentary is the one that says: "History repeats itself." No, history may be constantly beginning over again, but it never repeats itself. Certainly, if it were a science governed by rigorous laws, we could conclude from observation of the past what the future would be; and it would be the historian's role to forecast tomorrow's happenings as the meteorologist forecasts tomorrow's weather. But such is not at all the case: history cannot throw light on the future. True, men are agitated by the same passions,

to save history not only from her assailants, but likewise from her "defenders."

moved by the same needs, and animated by the same sentiments throughout the ages, so that, from a psychological point of view, man remains the same. But the circumstances in which he finds himself are constantly changing. And, even if one could arrive at the superhuman knowledge of all the causes of determined contingent happenings which make up these circumstances, there would still remain the absolutely unpredictable factor of man's free will, which is never determined, and the free decisions of which are known not even to the angels, but to God alone.

On the other hand, there is more to be said for the statement that a knowledge of history will help us better to understand and appreciate the present. While history does render a real service in this regard, it could hardly be expected, nevertheless, that the uncertain past would throw a great deal of light on the certain present. In reality, it is the present which explains to us the past, far more than the past explains the present. Even the "doctors" of the scientific school, like Langlois and Seignobos, give, as their one reason for accepting stigmata as historically defensible, the fact that they have been scientifically observed in our own day.[12]

But what then are the services rendered by history? They would seem to be chiefly three. The first is derived from the training in method peculiar to history. The spirit of healthy criticism which it develops in us adds a valuable instrument to our intellectual formation. Not that it should cultivate an indiscriminate scepticism, but it should arouse in us a wholesome desire to test the veracity of what we hear and what we read. And Heaven knows what need there is for such an attitude, at once both critical and charitable, in this day of wholesale propaganda and misrepresentation, whether it be a question of war news, politics, stock-markets, advertising, or whatever else it may be. One hesitates to take even the comic strips at their face value. Historical training will not provide us with an infallible instrument, any more than history will give us infallible truth, but it will serve as a valuable means in approaching the truth. In this regard, the Catholic should equip himself with as rigorous and painstaking a method as any, and should apply it conscientiously in his search for truth both in his-

[12] *Introduction to the Study of History* (London, 1932), p. 208.

tory and in his daily life.[13] But let him remember that his method is not an end in itself.

The second service rendered by history has to do with its material content, rather than with its method. To what use are the facts of history, once established, to be put? They are not meant simply to satisfy our curiosity. Moreover, it would be vain indeed to go on indefinitely piling up concrete facts, since, as St. Thomas says, the knowledge of singulars does not perfect our intellect.[14] Therefore, they must be integrated into a wider scheme of knowledge, and it is here history's noble role to subserve a higher science. It has a precious contribution to make to a science which, even if it does not appear in our curriculums as such, is most important for each and every one of us: what might be called a "science of man" or a "philosophy of man." Such a science would be based on truths gathered chiefly from theology, metaphysics, rational psychology, ethics, history, and the social sciences. Not only will the contribution of history be helpful for a better understanding of man; it will be truly indispensable. It is not enough to know the nature of the agent in order to know the effect or effects it can produce; the circumstances in which it acts must also be known. Only if our theoretical knowledge of man and his nature is enriched by the knowledge of different men in different circumstances, in their actions and reactions, can we begin fully to appreciate what man is and what he is capable of, both for good and for evil. St. John tells us that Christ *needed not that any should give testimony of man; for He knew what was in man* (John 2: 25). But the text implies that this was because Christ was God and that the rest of us have need of testimony about men, if we would know what is in man. Surely the role of history is an honorable one in serving this

[13] Pope Leo XIII repeats this several times, urging that recourse be had always to the sources, that researches be long and laborious, etc. There is little doubt that Pius XI held similar views. His own historical writings are proof thereof. Moreover, in an interview accorded to one of the professors from the École des Chartes in Paris, he voiced high praise of the rigorous methods inculcated in that school of historical research and expressed a desire to see the same historical method prevail in seminaries. See "Un Souvenir de Pie XI", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, C (1939), 423.

[14] *Summa Theologica*, Ia, XII, 8, *ad* 3*m*.

purpose, a humanist purpose in the best sense, deepening our knowledge of humanity. Moreover, from this point of view, history has certainly a scientific character. As long as it deals with mere singulars, it does not partake of the nature of science, as Aristotle tells us;[15] but, in subserving a higher science and sharing therefore in its nature to some extent, it partakes to that same extent of its scientific character, just as experimental physics receives its scientific character, not from itself (the question of pure method apart), but from theoretical physics which it subserves. But the question of history as a science need not be raised here.

Finally, we come to what is the loftiest purpose of history, yet the one which is usually least dwelt upon even by Catholic writers of history, perhaps because it is so obvious: it is the acquisition of truth! Knowing the truth about whatsoever it may be is a great good in itself. The object of the intellect with which God endowed us as rational creatures is truth. Truth nourishes and perfects it. Why? Because all truth, even relative, is a certain participation in the eternal and absolute truth which is God Himself. Hence truth leads us to God, our final end, Who alone can satisfy the deepest longing of our being. Contemplation of the truth is the noblest activity of man on earth, and will be likewise in heaven. Philosophy and theology are not, or rather should not be, studied primarily for the purpose of refuting error or even of converting from error, but in order that we may know truth and that it may lead us to God. The purpose of other sciences and arts too should ultimately be the same. A recent Catholic writer puts it clearly, when he says:

> The main purpose in learning, and in literature, and in art, is not to convert people to the Church, or to avoid the scandal of ignorance among Catholics, but to know truth and to see beauty. The other secondary aims may certainly exist, but if we erect them into the primary aim, we are throwing our idea of God's universe into disorder, and destroying the real function of the things themselves.[16]

Is it any wonder then that Pope Leo XIII declared the first law of history to be the unflinching pursuit of truth? Neither he nor our

[15] *Rhetoric*, Bk. I, ch. 2; cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, Ia, I, 2, *obj.* 2.

[16] *Colosseum*, III (1936), 88.

late Holy Father, Pius XI, hesitated to repeat the expression of the ancients, calling history *lux veritatis*. In the light of this principle, it can be seen how grave is the obligation on the Catholic historian to be most thorough in his researches and to weigh carefully what he affirms or denies as historically true; for the truth he deals with, even though but relative, has a sacred character through its participation in the Absolute Truth.

Perhaps it is not usual to speak of this as the chief purpose of history. Perhaps we all agree that it really is, but we think it better to discuss it among ourselves and not make our non-Catholic friends smile by asserting it openly. Or perhaps we feel that, while it is perfectly all right to speak of history in this way in sermons and in religion classes, it is different when we speak of history as history only. What harm is done by this dividing of our lives and this compartmentalizing of our knowledge! It is as though we had to lock securely and seal hermetically the spiritual compartments, whenever we touch upon aught secular, and *vice versa*. Yet it is the same person who is dealing with the one and the other; he must save his soul in doing the one as in doing the other. What is needed is a more perfect integration of our various activities and of our various knowledges. We must not be historians *and* Catholics, but both at the same time. Not that there should result any mixing of the natural with the supernatural, any confusing of the respective realms of Theology, Philosophy, Science and History; but we must ever remember that the search for truth is common to them all and interrelates them all. The vocation of the Catholic historian, the Catholic scientist, and the Catholic artist too, is similar to that of the philosopher and the theologian: to know Truth and to see Beauty. And these are two of God's names.

GEORGE B. FLAHIFF

REFORM LEGISLATION IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY AND ITS ECONOMIC IMPORT *

IT can be truly said, I think, that few sections of mediaeval history have been subjected to more diligent scrutiny and more searching analysis than the eleventh century reform movement of which Pope Gregory VII was the dominant figure, and the so-called War of Investitures the most dramatic, though not the most vital phase. All who are familiar with the literature on that subject are aware that practically every angle of the Gregorian restoration has been examined: the moral, the religious, the political questions at issue; the juridical doctrines bearing on the relation between the spiritual and secular powers in conflict; the personalities engaged on one side or other of the struggle; the controversies, polemics, and propaganda stirred up by it; the legislation and canonical literature the reform papacy brought into action; these and many other outlying questions have been looked into, and, in the main, adequately treated.

Yet, notwithstanding this many-sided treatment, a more careful survey of all that has been written on the Gregorian reform will reveal the fact that one important aspect of that movement has been passed over rather lightly. I mean the influence of economic factors. Or, to put it more concretely, there is no work in any language which presents an integrated picture and co-ordinates with the whole plan of reform the economic facts which in one way or another, negatively or positively, directly or indirectly, adversely or favorably, affected both the course, the intensity, and the length of the struggle and its final outcome.

We have, indeed, for the period in question, many isolated studies dealing either with the origin, or the nature, or the various sources of ecclesiastical revenue, or even with Hildebrand's efforts to safe-

* Paper read at the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 28, 1940. New York City.

guard the Church's temporalities and to reorganize the pontifical finances. Among these, I may mention Julius Ficker's memoir "Über das Eigentum des Reichs am Reichskirchengut";[1] Paul Fabre's *Étude sur le Liber Censuum de l'église romaine;*[2] Mattia Moresco's *Il patrimonio di San Pietro;*[3] Wilhelm Schneider's Greifswald dissertation, *Papst Gregor VII und das Kirchengut;*[4] Karl Jordan's enlightening article "Zur päpstlichen Finanzgeschichte im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert";[5] not to speak of Ulrich Stutz' epochal work on the "Eigenkirche" or proprietary church,[6] or of our own Professor William E. Lunt's *Papal Finances,*[7] and his more recent *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England.*[8]

But excellent as they are, none of these works, it must be said, attempt anything like a thoroughgoing and systematic correlation with the reform, as a whole, of the economic facts in which, on the one hand, was rooted each of the major abuses the papacy strove so mightily to eradicate — especially simony, clerical concubinage and lay-investiture—and which, on the other, conditioned both the ability of the Roman pontiffs to retain possession of the Apostolic See, and the effectiveness of their efforts to restore authority and discipline against the forces of anti-reform.

And yet, without a comprehensive understanding of the action and counter-action of the economic factors, one is at a loss to explain sufficiently either why the opposition to reform should have been so obstinate and prolonged; or how a papacy moving into action with a bankrupt treasury, dilapidated sources of revenue, and

[1] *Sitzungsberichte d. kaiserlichen Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, Vienna, 72 (1872), 55 ff., 381 ff.

[2] Fasc. 62, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (Paris, 1892).

[3] Turin, 1916.

[4] Greifswald, 1919.

[5] *Quellen und Forschungen*, 25 (1933), 61 ff.

[6] *Geschichte des kirchlichen Benefizialwesens.* Berlin, 1895; *Die Eigenkirche als Element des mittelalterlich-germanischen Kirchenrechts*, Berlin, 1895 (English tr. by G. Barraclough in *Mediaeval Germany*, II, Oxford, 1938, 35 ff.); etc., etc.

[7] Columbia University Press, 1934.

[8] Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939.

utterly inadequate military defense, could, nevertheless, have sustained the conflict through the weary course of eighty years, met ever-increasing expenditures, held and regained by force its seat in Rome against the anti-popes (who never failed to rise up with armed support at every papal election), and could have gone forward with the crusade.

Needless to say, it would take me far beyond the limits of an article such as this to attempt any full-length and particularized correlation of all the economic elements and interests with the endeavors of the eleventh century popes to bring the body Christian and the body clerical back to good morals and good discipline. That will be done, to a certain extent, in a book which I hope will see the light before very long. For the moment, I must content myself with merely drawing attention to that part of the reform campaign which was directed towards checking the dissipation of the Church's material resources and towards their recovery by way of legislation.

Perhaps the clearest indication that ecclesiastical resources had reached a stage of decline, threatening to defeat the moral ends of reform, is the fact that the popes made the economic recovery of the churches in general, and of the Roman See in particular, a main point in their program of restoration. An impoverished Church could never be a disciplined Church. Economic reform was, therefore, to be the condition of moral reform.

To this task the Roman pontiffs at once addressed themselves with all the expedients they could command, and first of all with legislation. Here they needed to invent nothing. "Habet enim ecclesia suas leges", Cardinal Humbert could truly tell the simonists.[9] But he had also to deprecate that those laws were unknown or disregarded, and that it was only the abuse of them that was deemed "canonical".[10] The whole truth, however, is that, apart from abuse, another body of laws had grown up in the course of the two preceding centuries. The long protectorate exercised by the German rulers over the papacy, and the longer patronage exercised by most secular powers over the episcopate and local churches, had

[9] *Adv. simon.* III, 11; MGH, *Libelli de lite*, . . . I.

[10] *Loc. cit.*

created for these lords a body of customary rights which had acquired legal force and which had met with no effective challenge.

For a whole century preceding the commencement of the Gregorian reform, no church councils of universal importance had met independently of the secular powers to define and enforce the ancient canons of ecclesiastical discipline against the rising tide of secularization.[11] Whatever councils met during this period did so as imperial diets at the emperor's bidding. Their edicts were either dictated by him or were subject to his revision. In all cases, they were to conform with imperial policy and interests. Much was done in these councils by way of sanctioning royal measures, confirming royal foundations, and settling disputes. But on matters touching the lives of the clergy, or the canonical administration of ecclesiastical temporalities, most of the councils had comparatively little to say. And thus it was that while canonical legislation stood practically still and silent, Germanic patronage and private-church practice went steadily forward, and, before its advance, Roman canonical ordinances retreated into practical disuse and oblivion. Of these, as Cardinal Humbert pointed out, the clergy had generally little knowledge and for them had little regard.

In the face of such a condition, neither the economic nor the concomitant moral disorders were to be banished by mere lamentations, nor by the negative process of prohibition and anathema. This the less so in an atmosphere of conflict and controversy, in which, what the reformers regarded as flagrant abuses, a large portion of the clergy and laity regarded as time-honored law, and any attempt at change as sheer innovation. Hence, the task that really lay before the popes was to impress upon all concerned that the changes they demanded, far from being anything novel, were, in fact, but the traditional law of the Church, and that all novelty was on the side of the practices they condemned. Nothing was better adapted to achieve that purpose than a juridical revival and a campaign of canonical education.

[11] W. v. Giesebrecht, "Die Gesetzgebung der römischen Kirche zur Zeit Gregors VII", *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 2 (1866), 93 ff.—Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, IV, 2 (Paris, 1911), 721 ff.—M. Boye, "Quellenkatalog der Synoden Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens von 922-1059", *Neues Archiv*, 48

Leo IX set that revival in motion, and the first expression of it was synodal legislation. With the support he received from the Emperor, Henry III, Pope Leo inaugurated that regular series of great councils, which, meeting in Rome year by year, and frequently elsewhere, were the most salient feature and the most telling instrument of the reform movement.[12] It was no longer at imperial diets that ecclesiastical matters of importance were to be decided, but at Roman synods under the presidency of the Roman pontiff, and at regional synods under the direction of his legates.

But the efforts of the reform papacy to restore the Church's forgotten canons to general recognition and vigor did not end with conciliar legislation. The challenge which the rights of the imperial protectorate and proprietary patronage offered to the decrees renewed by the councils called for a more reasoned, systematic, and comprehensive statement of church law than was to be found in conciliar acts and papal briefs. To meet that challenge squarely the reformers now turned to a codification of the Roman Church's entire tradition and legislation.

In the execution of this plan, canonists were commissioned to search for and bring together all the documentary witnesses of Roman tradition from every possible source. Synodal acts and papal edicts, imperial privileges and constitutions, patristic teachings and apostolic canons were all to be studied and sifted, and whatever these documents yielded to show forth the supreme authority of the Apostolic See, its liberties and prerogatives, with relation to the secular powers, the duties of the clergy, the discipline of their ministry, the immunities and administration of ecclesiastical property and revenues—all was to be crystallized into compendious codes destined for ready use and reference. These were to be the legal arsenals of the reform. In them the popes were to find juridical support for their position, the councils guides for their legislation, and the rank and file of the clergy manuals for their instruction. Thus not only practical legislation but canonical litera-

(1930), 45 ff.; *id.* "Die Synoden Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens von 922-1059", in *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte*, Kan-Abt., 18 (1929), 131 ff.

[12] Hefele-Leclercq, IV, 2, 995 ff. A. Fliche, *Réforme grégorienne*, I, Louvain-Paris, 1924, 129 ff.

ture entered into a new period of activity under the inspiration of the reform.

Of this canonical revival Hildebrand was prime mover and promoter. While still archdeacon, the future Pope Gregory VII had frequently urged Peter Damian to make a careful study of ancient decretals and to sum them up in a small volume. To his later regret Damian did not see the need of such a work and ignored Hildebrand's request.[13] But more willing collaborators were not wanting. Within Gregory VII's lifetime, these began or completed at least four known collections, all of which breathe the spirit of the energetic reformer and constitute the core of the canonical literature most representative of the Gregorian revival.[14]

The first of these is the *Capitulare* of Atto, archbishop-elect of Milan and cardinal of St. Mark, whose five-hundred chapters formulate the fundamental rules of Roman canon law for the use of his theological students.[15] The second is the *Collectio canonum* of Anselm of Lucca,[16] devoted auxiliary of Gregory VII, who at the pope's bidding arranged 1281 texts in thirteen Books covering the entire range of canonical legislation and laying stress on the primacy and privilege of the Roman See and the prohibition of simony and clerical marriage.[17] This was immediately followed by the *Collectio canonum* of Cardinal Deusdedit,[18] most zealous of reformers, and

[13] *Opusc.* 5, ed. Cajetan, III, 75, 78.

[14] The "Collection in 74 Titles" which Fournier, *Histoire des collections canoniques*, II, Paris, 1932, 14 ff., classes with the Gregorian collections, has no demonstrable relation to Hildebrand. It rather belongs, as Caspar has pointed out ("Gregor VII in seinen Briefen", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 130 (1924), 21, n. 1), to an earlier stage of the reform when the purification of the Church was the great objective, and when the primacy of the Roman See, so conspicuous in the later compilations, had not yet become a point at issue. In view of P. Damian's well known friendly attitude towards the emperor, his refusal to write a book stressing the primacy of the pope over the secular power is easily understood.

[15] Fournier, *op. cit.*, II, 20 ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, 25 ff.; *Anselmi episcopi Lucensis collectio canonum*, ed. F. Thaner, Innsbruck, 1906-15.

[17] Anselm's *Collectio* reproduces 250 chapters of the "Collection in 74 Titles". Cf. Fournier, II, 14 ff.

[18] *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, ed. V. W. von Glanvell, Paderborn, 1905; Fournier, *op. cit.*, II, 37 ff.

also author of the *Libellus contra invasores et symoniacos*. Written also at the express order of Gregory VII, though published after his death, we have, as last of this group, the *Liber de vita christiana* [19] of Bonizo, Bishop of Sutri, better known as the author of the earlier *Liber ad amicum*.

There are many other compilations of later date and minor importance which were directly inspired by Gregorian principles but to which we need only allude here. For a description of these, and for the connected history of the canonical compositions from the False Decretals, in the ninth century, to Gratian's *Decretum*, in the twelfth, the reader is referred to Fournier's *Histoire des collections canoniques*, the most complete work on that subject.

Fournier does not, however, include in his survey another work of canonical nature which, though appearing within twenty-six years of Gregory's death, is so much in the spirit of the Gregorian codes, and so fully occupied with the temporal problem, that more must be said of it before I come to the end of this article. I am speaking of the *Liber de honore ecclesiae* of Placidus, the monk of Nonantula.[20]

The conciliar enactments, therefore, and the canonical books of the reform period, are the expression of the Church's efforts to recover its authority and rights by way of legislation, and we may take them to be a fair index of the problems the reformers faced and the ends they strove to attain. We must now look into the temporal content of reform legislation and try to estimate therefrom the influence of the economic factor. And first let us turn to the councils.

In the seventy years that span the period between 1049 and 1122, at least one hundred councils met under the presidency of the popes or of their legates. About forty of them met in Rome, and sixty in other places, mostly in France and Italy. Of only one-fourth of these synods do we possess a full or partial record of the decrees they issued, though we know from narrative accounts that the vast majority of them were convened for the primary purpose of repres-

[19] Bonizo, *Liber de vita christiana*, ed. E. Perels, Berlin, 1930; Fournier, *op. cit.*, II, 139 ff.

[20] MGH, *Libelli de lite . . .*, II, 566-639.

sing abuses, restoring discipline, and pressing the cause of reform generally.

If we now examine the number, content, and purport of the surviving canons, we cannot but derive the conviction that the reform legislators are as vastly preoccupied with the temporal as they are with the moral rehabilitation of the Church. Thus the mere enumeration of the surviving acts of nineteen reform councils, from that of Rheims in 1049 to that of Toulouse in 1119,[21] will show that, of a total number of 320 decrees, 151 are aimed against the typical evils combated by the reform: simony, clerical incontinence, lay-investiture, and abuse of temporalities; and that of these 151, as many as 105 relate to the safeguarding and the canonical use of ecclesiastical estates and revenues. But even in the case of the decrees issued directly against simony, concubinage, and lay-investiture, we must not overlook the economic significance. In view of the economic losses which the practices just mentioned entailed for the Church, it is logical to conclude that, whatever legislation the councils enacted against those abuses, they, by implication, also enacted against the temporal alienations bound up with them. They had, therefore, real economic bearing.

But apart from the losses indirectly caused by the operation of simony, clerical marriage, and lay-investiture, there were those more direct distraints on ecclesiastical resources which the letters of Leo IX, Gregory VII, Peter Damian, and the treatises of Cardinals Humbert and Deusdedit so vigorously denounce. These were principally the appropriation of tithes and pious offerings; the absorption of ecclesiastical estates by the owners of private churches and by feudal lords and advocates; the fraudulent sale, leasing, and enfeoffing of the same by the ecclesiastical administrators themselves; the usurpations and outright plunders of lawless barons; and finally

[21] Rheims, 1049; Toulouse, 1056; Rome, 1059; Vienne-Tours, 1060: Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio*, XIX, 724 ff.; Rome, 1074/5 or 1083: J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta pontificum romanorum inedita* (Stuttgart, 1884), II, No. 161; Hefele-Leclercq, V, 1, 310; Poitiers, 1078; Gerona, 1078: Mansi, XX, 495 ff.; Rome, Lent 1078, Nov. 1078: Greg. VII, *Registrum*, ed. Caspar, V, 14*a*, VI, 5*b*; Rome, 1080, 1081; Melfi, 1089; Piacenza, 1095; Clermont, 1095; Nimes, 1096: Mansi, XX, 531; Rome, 1097: Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta*, II, No. 203; Rome, 1099; Poitiers, 1100; Troyes, 1107; Rome, 1110; Toulouse, 1119: Mansi, XX, 961 ff.; Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta*, II, No. 238.

the usurpations of the patrimonial estates and of the regalian revenues of the Roman Church itself.

On the subject of such direct alienations the councils manifest special concern in those acts which repeatedly forbid lay persons to possess and confer churches, and clerics to receive them except from the hands of the bishop; and in those many others which put emphatic ban on the further appropriation and sale, misuse and retention, and cession, by whatever device, of church lands and incomes, and, at the same time, impose penalties and enjoin restitution.

Thus at the very beginning of Leo IX's pontificate, the first of those Roman councils that were to meet annually throughout the reform lays under anathema the commercial use of churches, and orders the payment of tithes to the bishops and to parochial incumbents.[22] Similarly the great council of Rheims over which Leo himself presided in the same year, besides proscribing the sale of ecclesiastical posts or revenues, forbids laymen to hold them and the bishops to give consent to such a thing.[23]

Pope Victor II also opens his pontificate by taking conciliar action, in the synod of Florence, 1055, against the alienation of church property;[24] and in the following year, the reform council summoned at Toulouse at his bidding[25] issued decrees against lay usurpation of ecclesiastical resources and the withholding of tithes from the bishops and the churches, monasteries and chapters.

The great Roman Council of 1059, famous for the electoral decree of Nicholas II, again takes vigorous measures against the sale of churches, revenues and prebends, and the appropriation of tithes and pious offerings.[26] Early in 1060, Nicholas II despatched his legate to France, where, in the two councils he held at Vienne and Tours, among the reform canons promulgated were those which prohibit prelates to create new fiefs on ecclesiastical territory, and demand restitution of alienated religious property.[27]

[22] A. 1049; Wibert, *Vita Leonis*, II, 3, in J. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum . . . Vitae*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1862.

[23] C. 2; c. 3: Mansi, XIX, 724.

[24] P. Damian, *Epp.* IV, 12.

[25] Cc. 8, 11: Mansi, XIX, 847 ff.

[26] Cc. 5, 7, 11, 12: Mansi, XIX, 876.

[27] C. 3: Mansi, XIX, 925.

Of all the reform popes no one labored more strenuously for the economic recovery of the Church than Gregory VII. His deep concern for the security of the Church's temporal substance is expressed not only in many of his letters but also in the synodal acts of his pontificate. More emphatic and comprehensive than those of any other reform assembly, are the provisions of the councils convoked by himself in Rome in 1074/75, March and November, 1078, and Lent, 1080, and by his legate, Hugh of Die in Poitiers, January, 1078. In these enactments all the main heads of distraints on ecclesiastical goods meet with prohibition and sanction.[28]

No lay person is to possess church or ecclesiastical benefice, sell or bestow churches upon clerics, collect tithes, seize the altar offerings, baptismal and burial fees, or any revenues that accrue to the pastoral charge. No bishop is to bestow these upon laymen. No cleric or monk is to receive them from lay hands or assume hereditary rights over them; nor is any military lord or other kind of person to accept ecclesiastical estates from king or prince, or extort them from prelates and other administrators. Delinquents against these ordinances are banned from the Church until they amend and make restitution.[29] Such decrees have the condition of all the churches in view. But no synod meeting in Rome under Gregory VII could overlook the sorry economic state of the Roman See itself. Of this the councils of 1074-75, of November, 1078, and of Lent, 1081, take special note when they proceed against usurpers and invaders of the patrimonies of St. Peter, in whatever region they may lie, and single out the barons of the Campagna and the Norman chieftains for censure and excommunication.[30]

As we pass from the pontificate of Gregory VII to the pontificates of Urban II, Pascal II, and Calixtus II, we find that conciliar legislation continues to be largely taken up with the recuperation and preservation of ecclesiastical temporalities. Councils of reformatory character and universal importance met at the bidding of Urban

[28] November, 1078, cc. 4, 7; cf. c. 9, Nov., 1078: *Registrum* (ed. Caspar), VI, 5*b*.

[29] 1074-75, cc. 1, 2, 3, 9: Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta*, II, No. 161; cf. Poitiers, *a.* 1078, cc. 1, 6; Gerona, *a.* 1078, c. 13.

[30] Nov., 1078, c. 11: *Reg.* VI, 5*b*; Lent, 1078, c. 9: *Reg.* V, 14*a*; Lent, 1081, c. 3: Mansi, XX, 577; cf. Piacenza, *a.* 1095, c. 14 f.: Mansi, XX, 815.

II at Melfi in 1089,[31] at Clermont in 1095,[32] at Nimes in 1096,[33] and at Rome in 1097 [34] and 1099; [35] of Pascal, at Poitiers in 1100 [36] and at Rome in 1110; [37] and of Calixtus, at Toulouse in 1119.[38] Their decrees reveal that the struggle against the secularization of ecclesiastical revenues bound up with the private-church system is being maintained to the end of the reform. The councils are still hammering at proprietors who confer churches and benefices, collect and possess themselves of spiritual offerings, and merchandise in them. They also still reprobate the ordination of serfs for the ministry of private churches, and their employment in menial tasks. Nor have they ceased to penalize the prelates and clerics themselves who divert the resources of their churches to private use and bequeath their spiritual charge and benefice to their sons, nor to bar the last from sacred orders.[39] Similarly the exactions of prelates for dedication of churches and other functions,[40] acquisition of pluralities,[41] the sacking of episcopal residences at the bishop's death,[42] all meet with solemn condemnation.

This brief survey of conciliar legislation bearing on the economic phase of the reform will perhaps make it sufficiently clear that the

[31] Mansi, XX, 723. Cf. Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta*, II, No. 194.

[32] *Ibid.*, 815 ff.

[33] *Ibid.*, 933 ff.

[34] Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta*, II, No. 203.

[35] Mansi, XX, 961 ff.

[36] Mansi, XX, 1117 ff.

[37] Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta*, II, No. 238.

[38] Mansi, XX, 225.

[39] *Melfi*, c. 5: Mansi, XX, 723. Cf. Clermont, cc. 19, 20; Nimes, c. 6; Rome, *a.* 1107, c. 3; *a.* 1099, c. 15; *a.* 1110, cc. 14, 15; Toulouse, cc. 4, 7; Poitiers, c. 14: Mansi, XX, 1124. Cf. Clermont, c. 24: Mansi, XX, 904; Troyes, *a.* 1107, c. 6; Toulouse, c. 9; Nimes, 1096, c. 7: Mansi, XX, 935. Cf. Toulouse, c. 8; Clermont, c. 25: Mansi, XX, 817 f. Cf. Melfi, c. 11: Mansi, XX, 723. Cf. Poitiers, *a.* 1078, c. 8: Mansi, XX, 495.

[40] *Rome, a.* 1099, c. 18: Mansi, XX, 964. Cf. Nimes, *a.* 1096, c. 1; Poitiers, *a.* 1100, c. 13: Mansi, XX, 1124.

[41] Clermont, cc. 12, 13: Mansi, XX, 817. Cf. Poitiers, *a.* 1100, c. 16: Mansi, XX, 1124.

[42] Clermont, c. 31: Mansi, XX, 817. Nimes, *a.* 1096, c. 5: Mansi, XX, 935. Cf. Poitiers, *a.* 1100, c. 15: Mansi, XX, 1124. Toulouse, *a.* 1119, c. 4: Mansi, XXI, 227.

question of temporalities was not the least among the preoccupations that stirred the reformers to energetic action in a matter that so vitally affected the restoration of ecclesiastical morals and discipline.

Yet conciliar decrees only partially reflect the reform effort to furnish legal defence of the Church's temporal discipline and rights. For the fullest expression of that endeavor we must go to the canonical works composed by the auxiliaries of Gregory VII under his inspiration. By this we do not imply that canonical books compiled before the reform overlooked the subject of temporalities. Indeed, a section on *De rebus ecclesiae* is a feature common to all collections written both before and after the Gregorian revival. But a comparison of the Gregorian compositions with those that preceded them will reveal in the former a width of scope and an economic emphasis which is not to be found in the latter, and which can only be explained by the peculiar urgency of the economic problem confronting the reformers, and by their determination to bring a remedy to it on the lines of a revived Roman tradition.

Of the five Gregorian codes mentioned, the *Collectio canonum* of Anselm of Lucca and that of Cardinal Deusdedit are the most complete. Of these two again, Anselm's work, covering, as it does, all points of ecclesiastical discipline, has the Church at large in view and has, for that reason, enjoyed wider interest and influence than Deusdedit's *Collectio*. But from the viewpoint of the economic reform, it is Deusdedit's work that is the more complete and comprehensive, and throws its weight most squarely on those very aspects of the temporal problem on which the reform concentrated its action.

For the compilation of his code Deusdedit enjoyed exceptional advantages. He spent a long time in Rome, and was in intimate contact with Gregory VII and the Curia, where he seems to have been the leading canonist. Standing, then, so close to the center of administration, Deusdedit was well placed not only to have full acquaintance with the financial situation of the Apostolic See and of the Church in general, but also to have ready access to whatever documents and records were to be found in the Lateran and other

Roman archives, as his frequent use of papal registers clearly indicates.[43]

Our canonist centers his attention on the authority and privileges of the Roman See and arranges his material as follows. In the first book he gathers 327 documents which establish the primacy of the See of Peter. In the second, 163 texts lay down the rules governing the status and discipline of the Roman clergy. In the third book, 289 texts and canons deal with the Church's temporal administration, and include a long list of lands, rents, and tributes which has passed into the *Liber Censuum* or register of incomes and tributes due to the papal fisc, compiled by Cardinal Cencius at the end of the twelfth century.[44] And in the fourth book, no less than 437 documents bear on the liberties and privileges of the Roman Church, its clergy and properties. To the four books, by way of appendix, are then added ten other pieces which for the most part have to do with the procedure of councils. Of all these it is the texts of the third book that are of principal interest to us, and also about thirty more scattered through the other three books, but also relevant to temporalities.

The texts, occasionally fused together and altered somewhat in their wording to suit the general tendency of the whole work, are thrown into the body of the *Collectio* in no particular chronological or logical order. They are transcribed in groups as they came.

If we now pick up the thread of logic that runs in and out of the 315 or so chapters relating to ecclesiastical resources, their use and administration, we may synthesize the Church's law regarding these as follows.

The goods of the Church are to be regarded as the offerings which the faithful make to God in supplication for graces and in expiation of sin; they are destined for the maintenance of divine worship, its ministers, and especially the poor, one of the Church's first

[43] E. Hirsch, "Leben und Werke des Kardinals Deusdedit", *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, 85 (1905), 706 ff. E. Sackur, "Der Dictatus papae und die Canonessammlung des Deusdedit", *Neues Archiv*, 18 (1892), 140 f.

[44] *Le Liber Censuum de l'église romaine*, ed. Fabre-Duchesne (Paris, 1889-1910).

cares.[45] They are, therefore, sacred and inviolable, and once the gift has been made it cannot be revoked. Usurpers of the Church's goods commit sacrilege, "sell the blood of the Saviour", and are "slayers of the poor."[46]

The Pope is the supreme administrator and protector of the privileges of churches and monasteries.[47] But the ordinary administration of ecclesiastical property belongs to the bishop, who is to supervise it in the capacity of trustee and not proprietor, and with the concurrence of his clergy.[48]

To insure their proper use, the revenues of each church are to be divided into four parts and allotted to the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy, the upkeep of the sacred edifice, and the support of the poor and unfortunate.[49] For the sake of efficient management, the bishop is to be assisted by an oeconomus, arch-deacon, vice-dominus, and deasons,[50] who are to keep accurate and written accounts of receipts and expenditures, and a register of all contracts and other transactions.[51]

The ecclesiastical patrimony and revenues are to be scrupulously preserved and all precautions taken against their diminution.[52] The Church acquires prescriptive rights over any property it has held for thirty years, but no person can claim prescription against a church or monastery in less than forty, and against the Roman Church in less than one hundred years of unchallenged possession; and in no length of time where an original usurpation has been proved.[53] The privileges of churches and monasteries are under all circumstances inviolable; and no sacred edifice, property, or revenue may be converted to profane use.[54]

[45] Where not otherwise indicated, reference is to Book III, c. 32. Cf. cc. 44, 45.

[46] Cc. 99, 162, 25. Cf. cc. 26, 32, 33, 34, 59; IV, 27.

[48] C. 1. Cf. cc. 8, 14, 15; cc. 21, 22.

[47] Cc. 36, 73.

[49] C. 40; cc. 39. 74, 75, 86-89, 95.

[50] C. 5; cf. III, cc. 1, 5, 114, and *Capitula, lib. III*, p. 21.

[51] C. 22; cf. cc. 82, 83, 123, 124.

[52] Cc. 22, 138, 166, 283.

[53] Cc. 11, 92, 173, 174, 175, 176.

[54] Cc. 30, 36.

Alienation of the Church's goods is a crime and strictly forbidden under whatever form: gift, sale, lease, usurpation, or violent seizure.[55] All alienatory contracts are null and void.[56] Only to succor the poor and ransom captives may the treasures of the Church be sold by the bishop after consultation with his clergy or fellow-bishops.[57]

Every church must have definite boundaries within which it is entitled to tithes; but no new church or private oratory may encroach upon the tithe rights of a parish already established;[58] nor are the belongings of one church to be transferred to another.[59]

Clerics are to keep their personal property distinct from that of their church. They are also to eschew the avaricious practices of commerce and of acquiring pluralities.[60] Above all, they must keep far from simony.[61]

Bishops have a right to their own property. But whatever they and priests have acquired after their consecration or ordination must accrue to their church.[62] No exactions are to be practised on churches and monasteries, nor on the tenants of the Holy See's patrimonies, either by bishops or lay persons.[63] Moreover, it is forbidden both to clergy and bishops to divert the Church's property to private use.[64]

The faithful are bound to pay tithes to the church of their baptism, under pain of excommunication; and no lay or ecclesiastical person is to withhold or appropriate, or traffic in them, under the like penalty.[65]

[55] Cc. 15, 26, 34, 46; cc. 8, 10, 12-19, 21, 23-27, 29, 30, 32-36, 39, 40-53, 55-59, 61, 99, 125, 167, 171.

[56] C. 10; cc. 8, 13, 44, 48, 56, 57.

[57] C. 10; cc. 15, 17, 41, 46.

[58] Cc. 28, 29; cf. II, 41.

[59] III, c. 117.

[60] II, c. 8.

[61] IV, cc. 13, 14, 53, 86, 94-96, 149, 151, 152, 156; cf. I, 184.

[62] III, cc. 2, 20, 72.

[63] C. 52; cf. cc. 7, 93.

[64] Cc. 23, 32; cf. c. 18.

[65] Cc. 63, 64, 62, 181; cc. 59, 60, 61, 65, 179-183.

In founding or endowing churches benefactors make an irrevocable gift to God. Hence they are to renounce to the bishop all rights in the administration of their foundation, save that of partaking in the divine services; and no church thus built on private estates is to be consecrated except on those conditions.[66] Furthermore, no lay prince or other person may interfere in the temporal affairs of any church or monastery. Nor may laymen or clerics seek grants of ecclesiastical property,[67] benefices, and prebends from the hands of secular powers,[68] especially as Christian emperors have decreed that the goods of the Church should be free and immune.[69]

Monastic institutions have a right to their own properties; and though they are ordinarily subject to the bishop of the diocese, nevertheless they are to enjoy those privileges and exemptions accorded to them by the sovereign pontiffs, and must not be molested by episcopal or lay exactions.[70]

To the Roman Church in particular belong those territorial rights "restored" and bestowed by Constantine the Great,[71] Pepin, and Charlemagne,[72] and confirmed by the Emperors Louis the Pious,[73] Otto I,[74] and Henry II;[75] and, in addition, those patrimonial possessions enumerated in the lives and registers of the popes, and in the imperial confirmations.[76] Similarly does the Holy See claim vassal tributes from the Christian princes of Urgel,[77] Hungary,[78] Russia,[79] Spain,[80] Croatia and Dalmatia,[81] and Bohemia;[82] Robert

[66] Cc. 112, 177; cf. cc. 111, 113, 128, 129, 150, 178.

[67] C. 47.

[68] C. 45; IV, c. 26 (Clermont, *a.* 535, c. 5); III, 8, 67; IV, 19, 22, 54.

[69] IV, c. 285: Constitution of Justinian. Cf. IV, cc. 278, 292.

[70] C. 106, c. 6 (Chalcedon, *a.* 451, c. 4); cc. 91, 105, 106.

[71] IV, c. 1: Donation of Constantine. Cf. J. B. Sagmüller, "Die Konstantinische Schenkung im Investiturstreit", *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 84 (1902), 89-110.

[72] III, cc. 184, 185, 186: from *Liber Pontificalis*. Cf. IV, c. 12.

[73] III, c. 280.

[74] C. 281.

[75] C. 282.

[76] Cc. 186-267.

[77] Cc. 271, 272.

[78] Cc. 273-275.

[79] C. 276.

[80] C. 277.

[81] C. 278.

[82] C. 279.

Guiscard,[83] Richard [84] and Jordan of Capua.[85] Finally, there are the special tributes "ad cognitionem religionis" from Denmark and England,[86] and those established by Charlemagne in France and in Saxony.[87]

The Patrimony of St. Peter comes under the administration of the sovereign pontiff.[88] But each separate portion of it is to be locally administered by a "rector" or "defensor" formally commissioned by the pope.[89] Upon receiving his appointment, the "rector" takes a solemn oath to safeguard the interests of the Church on the estates committed to him, defend the poor, and conduct all important affairs according to the instructions received from the Pope.[90]

Such, in substance, is the purport and scope of the canons amassed by Deusdedit in his *Collectio* in order to fortify legally the temporal position of the Roman See and to rectify the administration and use of its temporalities. The characteristic features that mark Deusdedit's compilation as a reform document, bearing on its face the impress of the economic situation, will appear the moment we compare the temporal section of the Cardinal's *Collectio* with the pre-reform *Decretum* of Burchard, Bishop of Worms.[91]

From a mere quantitative comparison of these two codes we already observe that, while Burchard compiles only 131 texts that have to do with temporalities, Deusdedit has accumulated more than 300. But the further fact that Burchard, in the book which deals with that subject,[92] intersperses ninety-nine of his canons with 142 others extraneous to temporal matters and scatters the remaining thirty-two through five other books of the *Decretum*,[93] while

[83] Cc. 284-287. [84] C. 288.

[85] C. 289. [86] Cc. 269-270.

[87] C. 272. Cf. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Die Ansprüche Gregors VII auf Gallien als zinspflichtiges Land u. auf Sachsen als Eigenthum der Kirche", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungsband IV (1893), 77-101.

[88] Cc. 36, 127. [89] C. 66.

[90] Cc. 145-149; the method of administration is illustrated in a long series of extracts from the letters of Gregory I to various bishops and rectors: cf. cc. 66-108.

[91] *P. L.* 140, 537 ff. [92] Book III.

[93] Lib. I, cc. 24, 210-217, 227-231; II, 102, 103, 206, 207; VII, 71, 72; XI, 18-22, 25-29, 65, 66; XV, 1, 30, 35, 36.

Deusdedit arrays 289 of his documents in one solid phalanx, would seem to indicate that the Roman canonist is more decidedly taken up with the economic problems of his Church. Indeed, the economic part is so dominant a feature in Deusdedit, that when the "correctores" of Gratian's *Decretum* refer to Deusdedit's "libros *quatuor* de rebus ecclesiasticis", they seem to have carried away the impression that all the books of the Roman *Collectio* hinge on the question of ecclesiastical goods.[94]

But of greater moment than their number is the content of these documents. Here the differences between Burchard and Deusdedit are more striking and significant. The first and most salient point of contrast is the large place which Deusdedit gives to the temporal rights and possessions of the Roman See. Thus in Deusdedit's *Collectio* we are given to read the acts of donation and privileges by which kings and emperors bestowed and confirmed vast territorial possessions and regalian rights to the Apostolic See; then endless narrative and administrative documents enumerating and describing the management of St. Peter's patrimonies "in diversis regnis sita . . . diversis temporibus a diversis pontificibus . . . Romanis locata";[95] and finally a long register of about 400 leases, not to speak of vassal tributes.

In counterpart to all this, Burchard has no document to quote, no word to say. The subject that loomed so large before the eyes of Deusdedit, Anselm,[96] and the other reform canonists, and that also finds place in Ivo of Chartres,[97] is completely ignored by the German canonist.

A second point of contrast is the relation of secular persons to ecclesiastical property. As was to be expected, Deusdedit is uncompromising on the independence of the Church from any kind of lay intervention either in its spiritual or temporal affairs. All the texts he arrays on this theme leave no right to any secular power but that of protecting the Church's possessions. They entirely ex-

[94] Note to *Distinctio* XL, c. 6.

[95] III, c. 190.

[96] *Coll. cann.* IV, V, VI, passim.

[97] *Decretum*, I, c. 49 ff., III, passim; *Panormia*, II, c. 3 ff.: *P. L.* 161.

clude any lay right or claim to control a church or any of its revenues.[98]

Burchard, it must be said, also lays stress on the security of churches and their revenues from lay domination, and a number of canons cited by him deny to secular powers the right of disposing of ecclesiastical goods.[99] But Burchard's canons were not, in reality, meant to strike at the root of the private church system and to abrogate the proprietary rights of the landlords over their churches. These rights the German canonist takes for granted.[100] The intent was rather to keep the exercise of lay rights within the bounds already defined by Carolingian legislation. Moreover, inasmuch as Burchard concedes to the emperor the right of intervening in temporal matters, such as the exchange of ecclesiastical property and the like,[101] and does not question the right of lay-investiture, he, notwithstanding all his prohibitions of simony, leaves intact one of the practices fertile in abuses prejudicial to the economic integrity of churches, which was that of laymen holding churches as private property and exploiting them for private gain.

Deusdedit, on the contrary, takes all juridical ground from under any kind of lay proprietorship or investiture in churches. Reaffirming the principle, as Burchard also does,[102] that offerings to God are sacred and irrevocable, he, unlike Burchard, makes no allowance for all the proprietary habits formed during three centuries of "Eigenkirche" practice, but goes directly back to the Gelasian decretals that require from the founders a deed of unconditional donation and their complete exclusion from the temporal administration of their churches.[103]

[98] Nor is it clear that they give countenance even to an indirect form of patronage. Cf. Deusdedit, *Contra invasores*, c. IV: MGH, *Libelli de lite . . .* II, 355 ff.

[99] *Decretum*, III, c. 112; VIII, cc. 71, 72; XV, c. 35.

[100] *Ibid.*, III, c. 239. Cf. III, cc. 20, 111, 113. A. Koeniger, *Burchard I. von Worms* (Munich, 1905), p. 43 ff.; A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, III[3-4] (Leipzig, 1920), 440 f.; U. Stutz, *Die Eigenkirche als Element des mittelalterlichen Kirchenrechts.*

[101] *Decret.* III, cc. 165, 166, 172; cf. 175.

[102] *Ibid.* III, cc. 15, 129; XI, c. 7.

[103] E. g., *Coll. cann.* III, c. 45.

Another prominent feature we note in Deusdedit's *Collectio* is the emphasis with which alienations are condemned and restitution enjoined. Deusdedit is never done with quoting in close succession text upon text which execrates, forbids, and penalizes any form of distraint on the patrimony and revenues of any church. Such prohibitions are also numerous in Burchard of Worms.[104] But when against Burchard's thirty-seven texts, we count fifty-nine in Deusdedit, we have a right to conclude that the process of alienation had struck more deeply into the non-German section of the Church than in that portion of it known to Burchard and patronized by the emperor, and that the reformers, therefore, cried out more loudly against the abuses that concerned them more vitally.

Not least among the distinctive features which characterize Deusdedit's canons and show the impress of the reform is the approval given to privileges of exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, of which both Deusdedit's and Anselm's collections cite ancient texts in favor of monastic institutions.[105] But such privileges are entirely ignored by Burchard of Worms, who cites only those canons which place monasteries under the bishop's authority and enjoin upon him the duty of frequent visitation.[106] In view of the extraordinarily large use which the reform popes made of these exemptions, not only to promote monastic reform, but especially to protect monastic properties from exactions and alienations, the cognizance taken of these privileges in the temporal section of the new canonical books is, apart from the papal diplomas themselves, another indication of the economic concern on the part of the reform canonists. So much for the points of contrast between Deusdedit and Burchard in what regards temporalities.

But one cannot speak of the economic purport of the Gregorian canon law-book without thinking of another kindred work already mentioned, the *Liber de honore ecclesiae*, of Placidus, monk of the monastery of St. Sylvester at Nonantula.[107] The occasion that prompted the composition of this last book is the surrender of the

[104] III, cc. 9, 109, 112, 123, 140-145, 179-182, etc.

[105] III, cc. 30, 91, 105, 106; Anselm, *Coll. cann.* V, c. 54; cf. IV, c. 1.

[106] VIII, c. 66, c. 67.

[107] MGH, *Libelli de lite . . .*, II, 566-639.

right of investiture made by Pope Paschal II, under duress, to Emperor Henry V by the Concordat of Rome in 1111, which Paschal repudiated soon after. The book of Placidus is at once an emphatic protest against the pope's concession to the German king, and a refutation of those who, like Wido, anti-Gregorian bishop of Ferrara,[108] would restrict the Church's rights purely to the spiritual sphere and derive its temporal possessions solely from the bounty and sufferance of the secular powers. Through the length of 170 chapters, Placidus cites a long chain of canons and patristic texts vindicating the primacy of the Roman See over all the churches,[109] and, above all, the Church's right to temporal possessions.[110] This last is the theme that dominates the whole composition.

The basic fact from which Placidus derives the Church's temporal rights is that the ministers of the altar must live by the altar,[111] and that Christ has committed to the Church and its pastors not only the spiritual but also the temporal care of the faithful.[112] In this double sense does Placidus interpret Christ's charge to Peter: "Pasce oves meas".[113] Hence, the Church has an inherent right to material possessions, and whatever goods are given to the Church are given to God in perpetuity[114] and cannot be alienated, since they serve the transcendental purpose of feeding the poor and those who devote themselves to God's service.[115]

From these premises it follows that the lay powers have no right to own and dispose of churches,[116] and that whatever concessions of this nature popes have made in the past were either ill-advised or forced by persons and circumstances.[117] In natural connection with the secular control of ecclesiastical resources, Placidus then

[108] *De scismate Hildebrandi*, c. 2: MGH, *Libelli de lite* . . . , I, 564 ff.

[109] *De honore ecclesiae*, cc. 1-5.

[110] Cc. 7, 28-32, 43, 72, 88, 155.

[111] Cc. 7, 29 ff.

[112] C. 28, c. 72; cf. cc. 56, 88, 155.

[113] C. 28; cf. 72.

[114] Cc. 7-10, 45, 50, 52, 86, 149, 151, 159-162.

[115] Cc. 7-9, 11, 33, 34, 36, 73, etc.

[116] Cc. 11-13, 33, 34, 54, 55, 67-71, 78, 117, 139, 152, 154.

[117] Cc. 67, 69, 81, 82, 103, 118.

severely scores simony [118] and lay-investiture,[119] though he expresses regard for the welfare of the state,[120] and even allows that bishops and abbots, through their vassals, may render service to the emperor for tenures originally received on those terms.[121]

But the whole tenor of the *De honore ecclesiae* is thoroughly Gregorian, and is at one with Deusdedit's *Collectio* in maintaining the sacred character, stability, and irrevocable nature of donations made to the Church, and in denying to the emperors, and to the laity in general, any part in their administration except that of defending them. In a word, like Deusdedit's *Collectio*, the *Liber de honore* is a thoroughgoing indictment of the private church system. Thus, for the latter period of the reform, Placidus is the most eloquent witness of the economic, as well as juridical, phase of the Gregorian movement, attesting, as he does, its temporal preoccupations and pointing to canonical tradition in support of the claims of the Roman See.

The immediate influence of the reform codes proper is difficult to measure. But that they did make an impression we may with certainty infer from the fire they drew from the opposition, particularly from the cardinals who, in the last decade of the eleventh century, seceded from Urban II to the anti-pope, Guibert of Ravenna. Cardinal Beno, for instance, delivered more than one shaft at Hildebrand, Urban (Turbanus), Anselm, and Deusdedit and their "fraudulent compilations", and at "Hildebrandum et discipulos ejus scripturarum perversores".[122] And Hugh Candidus, writing to Matilda of Tuscany in an attempt to win her to the side of the anti-pope Guibert, lays upon Gregory VII the guilt of having thrown the world into turmoil by his "new laws" and writings.[123] In the next century, however, the canonist Gratian made large use

[118] Cc. 82, 83, 85, 89, 94, 96, 97, 101, 109.

[119] Cc. 53-55, 68, 69, 81, 82, 140, 154.

[120] C. 56; cf. cc. 91, 92.

[121] C. 153.

[122] Benonis aliorumque Cardinalium schismaticorum contra Gregorium VII et Urbanum II scripta, MGH, *Libelli de lite* . . . , II, *Ep.* iii, c. 13, 14, 15, p. 399; *Ep.* ii, p. 375; *Ep.* v, p. 406.

[123] *Ep.* x, *ibid.*, p. 417 f.

of both Anselm's and Deusdedit's collections, and the author of the *Liber Censuum* is particularly indebted to Deusdedit's third book for the register of revenues and tributes due to the Apostolic See from its estates and privileges.[124]

Be the external influence of the reform codes what it may, the force of economic factors, particularly on Deusdedit's *Collectio*, is unmistakable. That the temporal rights of the Church, on the one hand, and the prohibitions against their infringement, on the other, should have been so emphatically stated in a book of canons issued from Rome, may be taken as evidence of a chain of related facts: first, that the economic situation of the Church had reached a crisis; secondly, that the reformers were fully aware of its retarding effects on the moral regeneration of ecclesiastical life; finally, that the widespread ignorance, among the clergy, of the Church's laws was largely responsible for the misuse of its temporalities, and that a canonical manual furnishing a clear and concise statement of those laws would be the most practical instrument for making them known and better observed to the Church's economic and moral benefit.

DEMETRIUS B. ZEMA

[124] *Liber Censuum*, pp. 345-357.

A CENTURY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM AS SEEN THROUGH FRENCH EYES *

Precisely one hundred years ago Charles Alexis de Tocqueville completed the publication of *La Démocratie en Amérique*. Since that day many foreign observers have placed on record their impressions of the United States, its people, its customs, and its institutions. Few of these writers attained the degree of understanding and insight that made *Democracy in America* a classic in its field. Some of those who did failed for other reasons to acquire the fame that came early to De Tocqueville.

This is true to such an extent that, even among scholars, only two studies by foreigners of America and her institutions appeal immediately as demanding careful attention. To *Démocratie en Amérique* we add Lord Bryce's *The American Commonwealth*. And there, frequently enough, we stop. This cavalier treatment accorded our friends from overseas is not only discourteous, but also shortsighted. There are many things about ourselves that we might learn with profit from the foreign commentators. With an entirely different perspective, they have at times observed us with a far more candid regard than we have been wont to cast upon ourselves. In some cases their judgments have been faulty or uninformed—in many instances they have hit upon vital truths whose value honest self-appraisal must admit.

The whole field of European thought and opinion concerning American institutions, interesting and instructive as it is, remains largely unexplored. Occasional trails have been broken across this wilderness by hardy investigators, yet a detailed map of the entire area has never been made. One of the most fertile and promising sections of this new land for the American historical scholar is an extensive foreign literature dealing directly or indirectly, in whole

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or in part, with American church history, and with the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. There has been a reasonable impetus behind these various inquiries into American religious institutions. Here in the new world we have developed religious traditions and practices that to the European are as distinctively American as our skyscrapers, our kitchen gadgets, and our culture patterns generally.

The Frenchman, atheist, agnostic, or faithful son of Mother Church, is completely familiar with the ancient tradition that considers union of Church and State as the ideal, all departures from which are regrettable deviations from the norm. The spectacle of a great Church that officially rejects the ideal of union and yet calls itself not only Catholic but Roman, is apt to startle the French observer into hastily concluding, as did Henry Bargy, that "All the Churches of the United States, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and independent, . . . are closer to one another than any one of them is to its mother-church in Europe, and the ensemble of all American religions constitutes what may be called the 'American Religion.'" [1] Yet not all Frenchmen have solved the enigma so expeditiously and so superficially.

The inquiring Gallic mind, the curiosity that only satisfaction can dispel, has driven other French authors to investigate in great detail the phenomenon of a Church that is Roman, Catholic, and at the same time American. They have followed its fortunes with interest, they have predicted its future, they have delved into its past. Their observations, their prophecies, and their historical judgments have not always been faultless, yet during the past century they have created a sizeable literature that, when considered as a whole, constitutes a fair and impartial record of the achievements and shortcomings of the Catholic Church in the United States.

James Bryce once wrote that De Tocqueville's remarks on "the character and influence of Christianity in the United States . . . are among the wisest and most permanently true that he has written." [2] Among those remarks is to be found a shrewd and accurate estimate of the attitude of American Catholics towards democracy. While De Tocqueville admitted to some surprise, he found ample justifica-

[1] *La Religion dans la société aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1902), vii.

[2] *The Predictions of Hamilton and De Tocqueville* (Baltimore, 1887), 43n.

tion for the statement that Catholics "constitute the most republican and the most democratic class in America." This he attributed in part to the levelling qualities of Catholic teaching which "on doctrinal points . . . subjects the wise and ignorant to the details of the same creed," and in part to the fact that Catholics in the United States formed a minority group whose privileges would be respected only so long as all rights of all citizens were observed.

Another phase of Catholic practice in the United States which De Tocqueville, and most French writers after him, found unique and unusual was the distinct separation maintained between matters of faith and morals on the one hand, and more mundane considerations on the other. The American Church, he pointed out, divides the intellectual world into two parts, one dealing with the doctrines of revealed religion which command assent, and the other with matters "freely left open to the researches of political inquiry." Although he does not so phrase it, De Tocqueville argues that in the United States the Catholic clergy gives real life to the precept: "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God the things that are God's." "Thus," he writes, "the Catholics of the United States are at the same time the most faithful believers and the most zealous citizens." [3]

In spite of the unusual character of American Catholicism which clings "more to the spirit and less to the letter of the law" than European forms of the same belief, the author of *Démocratie en Amérique* found the members of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States "very submissive and very sincere." [4] Having remarked at some length upon general religious tendencies of the times, De Tocqueville then gave words to a conviction that was frequently quoted at later periods by those of his compatriots who turned their attention to the phenomenon of American Catholicism. He wrote: "If Catholicism could at length withdraw itself from the political animosities to which it has given rise, I have hardly any doubt but that the same spirit of the age, which appears to be so opposed to it, would become so favorable as to admit of its great and sudden

[3] *Democracy in America* (2 vols., New York, 1900), I, 304.
[4] *Id.*, II, 28.

advancement." [5] The distinctive characteristic of American Catholicism that appealed to De Tocqueville as the most important single factor explanatory of the democratic character of the Church in the United States was the official support paid by the Catholic organization to the general American principle of separation of Church and State. Unlike Bargy, who jumped to the conclusion previously quoted that American Catholics were closer to their Protestant brethren than they were to the Church of Rome, De Tocqueville was more moderate and more accurate in his observations. He noted that "the Christians of America . . . all look upon their religion in the same light," including the Catholics, but he was careful to stress also the unquestioned acceptance of Catholic dogma by members of that communion in the United States.

De Tocqueville travelled in the United States in 1831 and 1832. He wrote of the Church as he saw it then. From that time until after the Civil War French authors paid scant attention to American Catholicism. A few, like A. F. de Bacourt, French minister to the United States from 1837 to 1842, Michel Chevalier, and Edouard Laboulaye left personal jottings descriptive of their Catholic contacts while resident here. These do not pretend to afford a comprehensive view of the Church in this country, but they contain some material suggestive of an ecclesiastical situation quite different from the prevailing European model. At one point, for example, Bacourt quotes Archbishop Eccleston of Baltimore as saying to him: "I always avoid [introducing politics into my sermons], even in this country, where priests have a right to say what they please. Although born in America and as good a republican as anyone, I do not vote, and never try to influence my parishioners as to how they shall vote. It would only be in the case of the liberty of my religion being threatened that I should assert my right as an American citizen." [6]

[5] *Ibid.*, 30.

[6] A. F. de Bacourt, *Souvenirs d'un diplomate: lettres intimes sur l'Amérique* (Paris, 1882), 47. See also Michel Chevalier, *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord* (2 vols., Brussels, 1837); Edouard Laboulaye, *Histoire politique des Etats-Unis* (3 vols., Paris, 1855-1866), and *Paris en Amérique* (Paris, 1863).

In 1856 appeared the De Courcy-Shea history of the American Church.[7] This was a fairly comprehensive factual account of men and events, but contained little in the way of interpretation. It would be difficult to derive from its pages any definite conclusions concerning the French reaction towards Catholicism in the United States, beyond the general observation that great possibilities for growth lay ahead of the American Church in the middle of the nineteenth century. Another volume by J. F. Astié, that dealt with the religious situation of America immediately before the Civil War, provided little of additional value concerning Catholic organization in the United States.[8]

While De Tocqueville wrote *La Démocratie en Amérique*, a young peer of France, Charles de Montalembert, turned his thoughts to the problems of the Church in his own land. Breaking with Catholic tradition he ventured to oppose the ecclesiastical policy of the July monarchy and the papal concordat with France. Unsuccessfully he pleaded for freedom of religion and separation between the French Church and the French State. His advocacy of this course of action was not impelled by anti-religious sentiments, as was so frequently the case with his fellow citizens, but by the desire to see the Church itself entirely free of the shackles of political control. What he envisaged was something akin to the religious order of life in the United States. It was inevitable that he should be attracted to the study of American institutions. Unfortunately, he was never able to fulfill his desire to visit the United States and to study at firsthand the ecclesiastical situation that he had admired from a distance. On the eve of a projected trip to America in 1866 he became seriously ill and was forced to cancel his plans. It had been his intention to visit the United States in company with two young friends, Guillaume de Chabrol and Léon Lefébure. The three men were to restudy the social institutions of America and to assess the changes and developments that had taken place since *Démocratie en Amérique* was published. Finding himself too ill

[7] Henry de Courcy, *The Catholic Church in the United States: Pages of its History*, translated and enlarged by John Gilmary Shea (New York, 1856).

[8] *Le Reveil religieux des Etats-Unis (1857-1858) d'après les principales publications américaines et anglaises* (Lausanne, 1859).

to travel, Montalembert insisted that his disciples go without him and report back to him what they had learned. There is a striking significance in all this, for, as Georges Goyau pointed out in 1924, the trip to America was destined to color the whole life and work of Guillaume de Chabrol, who later became one of the outstanding Catholic intellectuals of France in his own right.[9]

Two men, of whom Chabrol was one, were largely responsible for directing the attention of France once more to the American solution of the Church-State problem, and to American social institutions as models for France to follow in a period of stress and dissatisfaction. The opening gun of what appeared to be a concerted campaign to make Catholic France "America-conscious" was a series of articles that appeared in *Le Correspondant* in 1867, 1868, and 1869.

First of the series was an article by Chabrol on political parties in the United States that contained nothing on the Catholic Church as an American institution, but described the political milieu in which it existed.[10] Duval followed this article with the first installment of a general consideration of Catholicism in America.[11] In this first article Duval, by his own confession, made no attempt to reach final judgments, but strove simply to present an account of the historical development and actual situation of the Catholic Church in the United States. His judgments emerge, however, from the tenor of his historical presentation. It is evident that he gave enthusiastic approval to the American way of regulating relations between Church and State. Stressing what he called the "marvelous" development of the Church in the United States, he summarized its history as follows: "Outlawed for a century and a half, driven from the only colony it had founded, it finally saw open before it an era of liberty. From that moment forward its progress was nothing less than a continual, uninterrupted, and daily-increasing triumph."[12] As though this were not enough,

[9] Georges Goyau, "Un penseur catholique: le Comte Guillaume de Chabrol," *Le Correspondant,* 296 (August 10, 25, 1924), 400-420, 619-636.

[10] "Les Partis politiques aux Etats-Unis," 72 (October 25, 1867), 597.

[11] "Le Catholicisme en Amérique: I. Caractère religieux de l'Amérique," 75 (August 10, 1868), 531-566.

[12] *Ibid.,* 547.

Duval added that "In the United States Catholicism has suddenly emerged as a necessity of public order, as the keystone of the social edifice."[13] Views such as these no doubt appeared a bit exaggerated to American Catholics, surrounded as they were by widespread prejudice, recently manifested in the development of such popular movements as the Native American or "Know Nothing" Party.

Chabrol's second article appeared two months later.[14] It was more conservative in its estimate of American Catholicism and more penetrating in its analysis of the Church-State relationship in the United States than anything Duval had written. Chabrol adopted somewhat different tactics than had Duval. Instead of dealing in general and objective terms with the broad subject of Catholicism in America, Chabrol devoted his attention principally to the restricted field of religious legislation in the United States. It was significant that he frankly allowed his opinions to emerge from his conclusions, and made it quite evident that the goal he sought was the adoption in France of a similar solution of the complicated Church-State problem. Much of this article was devoted to a factual history of the establishment of liberty of conscience and the development of the idea of separation in the United States. He called attention to the fact that Catholicism, which was held in France to be incompatible with democratic institutions, had experienced in the United States a more rapid and remarkable development than had any other religion.[15] Since Chabrol's principal aim was to apply the lessons learned in America to the situation existing in France, he did not hesitate to underline one important difference between the prevailing French conception of separation of Church and State and the American implementation of that principle. Concerning the people of the United States who were responsible for the American system, he wrote: "Unbelief had attacked neither their creeds nor their Christian morality. Today, with a few glorious exceptions, those who demand separation of Church and State in Europe have parted company with Christianity, and the course they advocate has value in their eyes only as a

[13] *Ibid.*, 565.

[14] "La Législation religieuse aux Etats-Unis," 76 (October 25, 1868), 280-311.

[15] *Ibid.*, 280.

final expression of hostility to Christian precepts. Separation of Church and State was to Americans both a victory for their faith and a means of protecting it." [16] Among the "glorious exceptions" Chabrol referred to, he no doubt counted his friend and mentor, Montalembert.

American laws concerning church organization, Chabrol pointed out, were not always applied with equal justice to Catholics, in that the Church did not get the type of legislation best suited to its own kind of organization. The state laws generally in force stipulated the complete legal independence and individuality of the parish, and granted no legal status to the basic Catholic unit of control, the diocese. Instead, final authority in church matters was vested by law in parish boards of lay trustees. Such legislation, wrote Chabrol, might be expected in a predominantly Protestant community unfamiliar with the hierarchical principle in matters ecclesiastical. Chabrol recounted the evils of "trusteeism" as already experienced by the American Church, and added that such a system, which practically nullified diocesan control, threatened the possibility of numerous small-scale schisms. Said he: "It is a singular fact that the Catholics of the United States did not at first seem to appreciate this danger." [17]

Separation of Church and State in America demanded an honest attempt on the part of the State to recognize the rights of all, and on the part of the Church a courageous patience directed at destroying prejudice. Chabrol did not minimize the difficulties which Catholicism had had to face in the United States, nor did he overemphasize the degree of Catholic progress so far achieved. He contented himself with pointing a moral for Catholic France—that to American Catholics more than to any other sect, separation had not administered a crushing defeat, but had been productive of a great victory. Once more, in ending his article, he emphasized the unique character of American separation by a juxtaposition of the speech of Boissy d'Anglas to the Convention on February 21, 1795, and pertinent parts of the Virginia Constitution of 1786. D'Anglas had asked that the Church be separated from the State in order that

[16] *Ibid.*, 292.
[17] *Ibid.*, 297.

it might perish more readily. The Virginia lawmakers had voted separation in order that each citizen might enjoy a maximum of freedom to worship as he pleased the God whom all acknowledged as the Ruler of the Universe.[18]

Another three months and *Le Correspondant* printed the second and final installment of Duval's study of Catholicism in America.[19] Religious liberty as guaranteed by the separation of Church and State was the theme of this paper as it had been of Chabrol's recent dissertation. Once again the different approach of the two authors to the same problem was apparent in Duval's treatment of his subject. Adhering to his factual and largely objective inquiry into the course of American Catholic development, he emphasized the complete divorcement of the Church in the United States from political concerns in general, and from the support of any one political party in particular. He devoted the largest part of his argument to an outline of Maryland's contribution to American religious liberty. What he had to say added nothing to what was already well known. He did, however, draw one conclusion that is worth quoting. "Even though the Catholics of Maryland," he wrote, "were obliged to suffer from Puritan intolerance by virtue of the very principle of religious liberty which they proclaimed, that same principle eventually became their protection and their safeguard everywhere else. In return for the defeat that they underwent in their colony, they gained a victory in all America." [20]

The conclusions of Duval's articles were implicit, while those of Chabrol's were explicit—but they were essentially identical. In America, they told the French Catholics, existed visible proof that separation of Church and State did not of necessity mean the end of organized and vital religion. In America existed a model that France, torn asunder by politico-religious dissensions, might study with considerable profit to herself.[21]

[18] *Ibid.*, 309-311.

[19] "Le Catholicisme en Amérique: II. La Liberté religieuse," 77 (January 25, 1869), 310-335.

[20] *Ibid.*, 311-312.

[21] That there existed some German interest at this period in the problems studied by Duval and Chabrol is attested by the publication of their articles under the title, *Der Katholicismus in Amerika,* as Vol. II of *Katholische Studien* (Augsburg, 1870).

A third French publicist should be included with Chabrol and Duval as among those Frenchmen working for a new and satisfactory solution of the Church-State problem. This was Emile Jonveaux, whose interests turned more particularly towards the field of education, and whose articles, also published in *Le Correspondant* at this same period, furnish some material of value concerning the American attitude towards the Catholic schools. Jonveaux published two articles during 1868. The first did not deal directly with the Catholic schools, but rather with the role of women in the educational system of the United States.[22] He reserved his remarks on Catholic education for his second article, which attempted to describe the attitude of American Protestants towards the Catholic Church.[23]

This second article by Jonveaux is, in a certain sense, particularly significant in any study of French opinion concerning American Catholicism. The reasons for its importance did not develop until the very end of the nineteenth century, when French Catholic writers became so sharply divided over the problem of the Catholicism of the American Church that Pope Leo XIII was obliged to intervene personally to put an end to an undignified quarrel. The controversy that arose at that time centered around the personal merits and doctrinal practices of Father Isaac Hecker, the founder of the Paulist Society. The dispute arose after Father Hecker's death and the publication of his biography by Father Walter Elliott, also a Paulist.[24] When that biography was translated into French, it became a source book for French Catholic writers, who were universally concerned with the acute Church-State problem in their own land. Admirers of the American way of doing things, like Abbé Félix Klein, professed to see in Father Hecker's example a solution for French difficulties. Other writers found in the same biography proof of the virtual apostasy of the American Church. A tremendous amount of polemical literature resulted from this difference of opinion.

[22] " L'Education en Amérique et le rôle qu'y jouent les femmes," 74 (April 25, 1868), 219-255.

[23] " Les Catholiques du Nouveau Monde jugés par les Protestants," 76 (December 10, 1868), 826-864.

[24] *The Life of Father Hecker* (New York, 1891).

Jonveaux's article of 1868 was not a part of that literature, but preceded it by a generation. It was, nevertheless, in the same tradition. Writing while Father Hecker was still alive and most active, Jonveaux noted concisely and with approval the significance of Hecker's work and teaching in America. His contemporary comments on matters of doctrine take on added value when considered in the light of the serious controversies that arose later over these same doctrinal points. He called Hecker the best type of American Catholic, and referred to him as one of the "principal leaders of the pacific religious revolution in America."[25]

Religious liberty in America had by 1868 ceased to be a legal fiction, according to Jonveaux. American Protestant sects, generally split in twain by the Civil War, manifested a growing disunity. Hecker and his followers, as well as the general hierarchical organization of the Church, were vitalizing Catholic teaching and reconciling it to the American spirit of independence. Catholic education stood far above public education generally in the United States. All these factors proved two things to Jonveaux: (1) that the Catholic Church in the United States was destined to become "the most powerful auxiliary to the cause of progress and civilization", and (2) that the Church has nothing to fear from liberty.[26] These were precisely the conclusions that later in the century were attacked with greatest vehemence by Frenchmen who distrusted the American way. In 1868 they aroused no argument, but were generally accepted as true by those who gave any thought whatever to American Catholicism.

In a more limited sense the same viewpoint was maintained by those who studied American institutions between 1870 and 1890. Claudio Jannet was one of several authors who published extended studies of American manners and customs during this period.[27] He devoted seven chapters to religious questions and associated problems. He, too, saw in American Catholicism a satisfactory solution of the Church-State relationship, and great

[25] *Op. cit.*, 848.

[26] *Ibid.*, 845, 862.

[27] *Les Etats-Unis contemporains, ou les moeurs, les institutions et les idées depuis la guerre de la sécession* (Paris, 2nd edition, 1876).

opportunities for physical and spiritual development. There was manifest in his comments, however, a growing realization that the life of the Church in the United States was not a completely idealistic existence, and that American Catholics too faced certain serious problems and difficulties peculiar to their own culture.

Auguste Carlier, writing in the eighties, after a lifetime of study and investigation, produced a four-volume work that has been shamefully neglected by students of American political and social institutions.[28] His penetrating analyses of our political system and social life warrant his inclusion with De Tocqueville and Bryce among that small but select group of foreign scholars whose views are worthy of periodic consideration by Americans. Carlier, too, sketched in the history of Catholicism in America. But he differed from his immediate predecessors in the character of his conclusions. While he sincerely praised the scope of Catholic development in the United States, his objective approach impelled him to call attention to certain areas of activity in which the Church was failing in its mission. There was little Catholicism in the South among either the negro or the white population, with the exception of New Mexico, Texas, and Louisiana, which States possessed a more ancient Catholic tradition than any other parts of the Union.[29] Carlier's obvious approval of the theoretical relationship between the State and the Church in America did not blind him to certain dangers for Catholicism inherent in that relationship. He emphasized the growing evil of divorce and the lack of control over that evil by the churches in general.[30] Another problem that concerned Catholics more particularly was the difficulty of maintaining financially any sort of extensive religious and social work on the limited resources available. Pew rentals, the chief parish income, did not seem sufficient to him to support the church, the school, orphanages, hospitals, and various other activities sorely needed in the United States. He pointed out in this connection the comparative poverty of the Catholic communion.[31]

[28] *La République Américaine* . . . (4 vols., Paris, 1890).

[29] *Id.*, III, 446.

[30] *Ibid.*, 491-498.

[31] *Ibid.*, 515.

Carlier devoted a lengthy chapter to non-sectarian education in the United States. He made it quite clear that separation of the public schools from the Church meant Protestant education in practice, whatever might be the legal theory behind such separation. Pursuing the subject further, he claimed that certain visible tendencies indicated that, unless changes were made, the public schools would cease to be even Protestant, and would become definitely anti-Christian. Then, too, there were the inevitable inequities that must arise from any public school system such as that in vogue in the United States. Catholics, and any sect that was not content with the Sunday school as a means of inculcating religious principles, were required to pay taxes for the support of the public school system, and at the same time were forced to bear the full expense of providing their own confessional schools. No tax allowance was made for the members of those churches which maintained their own schools, although they reduced very considerably the total cost of free state education by lessening the load which the public schools had to carry. Here was a problem that would have to be worked out to a more equitable solution in the future if religious liberty was to become a truly vital principle of American democracy.[32]

Finally Carlier called attention to an important peculiarity in the position of the Catholic Church in the United States. "The Catholics," he wrote,

> are not looked upon by Protestants in general with the same regard that is cast upon any other denomination. With the exception of a few States where they are in the majority, it is extremely difficult for Catholics to reach any high elective office. Latent popular prejudice always unites against them a coalition of Protestants, fanatics as well as those who are simply imbued with an unreasoning dislike. Time alone can effect the disappearance of this last vestige of former intolerance.[33]

The strength of Catholicism in the United States, he concludes, cannot be judged solely by the fact that the Church has more communicants than any other denomination. "The various Pro-

[32] *Ibid.*, 557-563.

[33] *Ibid.*, 511.

testant sects, in spite of their divergences, are always ready to unite against them." [34]

Carlier's four large volumes reflected American manners and institutions of the years immediately following the Civil War. They were in preparation for a long time, and for that reason failed perhaps to stress the full significance of events that were happening when they were published in 1890. One year later, however, Max Leclerc produced a short monograph that dealt specifically with what he called the " economic and religious crises in the United States in 1890." [35] More limited in its general scope, it was nevertheless more complete in its treatment of contemporary religious development than Carlier's monumental work had been.

Leclerc, in orderly fashion, presented his explanation of the growth of Catholicism in the United States, his conception of the problems that confronted the Church in America, and his estimate of the existing and future importance of American Catholicism in relation to the world-wide Roman Church. Five principal factors explained the phenomenal enlargement of the Roman communion in America: (1) the immigration of millions of European Catholics; (2) the comparatively high birth rate among these immigrant families; (3) the annexation of traditionally Catholic areas such as Florida, Texas, California, and New Mexico; (4) the freedom and opportunity enjoyed by the Church under the laws of the United States; and (5) the Church's own adaptation of her institutions to the American scene—" she has made herself tolerant, democratic, and American." [36]

These circumstances inevitably gave to the Church a tremendous field for expansion and development, a field that Leclerc felt had not been developed as it might have been. This led him to a consideration of the problems confronting American Catholics. First, he wrote, the Church in the United States, while large and growing, was not as large as it should have been. Millions of Catholic immigrants had been lost to the faith because there were not in

[34] *Ibid.*, 446.

[35] *Choses d'Amérique. Les crises économique et religieuse aux Etats-Unis en 1890* (Paris, 1891).

[36] *Ibid.*, 218-223.

the United States enough priests to care for their spiritual needs.[37] Secondly, most American Catholics were poor, which resulted in financial difficulties that hampered full development. Thirdly, the Church wanted to be American in the full sense of the term, but found herself fettered by the necessity of assimilating her foreign peoples and of convincing Americans generally that her organization was not foreign in its origins, its methods, and its temporal allegiance. Finally, all these problems were complicated by the fact that the Church in the United States was staffed with large numbers of foreign priests and that there were comparatively few priestly vocations among native American Catholics.[38]

As Leclerc saw it, therefore, the first thing that the Church in America had to do was to Americanize herself in the eyes of Americans. She had already become " tolerant " and " democratic ". Her second duty was to provide adequately for the education of her young. Here two delicate additional problems presented themselves. The first was the financial question, referred to previously by Carlier, and the second was the danger of being charged with a violation of the spirit of the American Constitution and a desire to erect a " state within a state ". Neither of these problems had been adequately solved at the time Leclerc wrote.[39] He was particularly concerned with the school question, which at that time was entering its acute phase in American affairs. Admitting that the entire question was one which should not have arisen in a State where freedom and liberty rather than tolerance were the accepted social maxims, he wrote: " It is assuredly unfortunate that the Catholic Church has clashed directly with one of the most cherished principles of modern America: the absolute separation of affairs of state from matters of religion. It is only too clear to any impartial observer that the Church in this matter is proceeding against the grain of public opinion." [40]

The fact that the school problem had emerged in the United States as a result of Catholic initiative indicated to Leclerc the " coming-of-age " of the American Church. This led him to some broader and more general observations on the significance of this

[37] *Ibid.*, 217-218.
[38] *Ibid.*, 224-226.
[39] *Ibid.*, 228-229.
[40] *Ibid.*, 234-235.

development for the American Church in particular and the Universal Church in general. To use his own words:

> An important event in the history of the world is taking place on the other side of the ocean, and is developing almost unnoticed. The Catholic Church, the most powerful and the most ancient of religious organizations, has entered into contact with the youngest and most enterprising of the new societies. The Roman Church for the first time finds itself directly at grips with the people of a modern civilization, deprived of the intervention of government, local authorities, court intrigues, or diplomatic ingenuity.[41]

What will be the results? When immigration has ceased or slowed down greatly, may not the Church's losses equal or surpass her gains? Will the Church gain a majority in the United States as quickly as she expects? Numbers are a power in temporal affairs, but they are not all of the Church's concerns. What is the future of religious sentiment in the United States? America is essentially materialistic in her viewpoint, and once the new arrivals from Europe have become thoroughly "Americanized", will there be a place left in their souls for the precepts of Rome and the faith of their fathers?

These questions Leclerc did not presume to answer categorically, but he produced some additional general observations on the relationship of the American Church to the See of Peter that were provocative of much thought and worthy of more detailed discussion. His contention was that the Church of Rome could not help but be influenced by the Anglo-Saxon nations. He saw Latin influence losing its incontestable superiority in Church affairs, and the history of the world being altered thereby. "*Rome ne sera plus dans Rome, mais dans Baltimore ou dans Carthage.*"[42] Early Roman policy towards the American Church had been like a colonial policy in the field of politics. But that situation had changed:

> The American Church, after having been a simple external appendix of the Church of Rome, has become one of its driving forces. Ten million Americans have, on several memorable occasions, carried more weight in the balances of the Holy See than the hundreds of millions

[41] *Ibid.*, 235-237.

[42] *Ibid.*, 237-239.

> of faithful in the Old World. . . . But . . . the Church of Rome may cease to go along so eagerly with the young and frisky American nation. Should rebellion against the capitalists proceed among the people of the United States at too lively a pace, the Holy See might take alarm, and be unwilling to follow this new trend as quickly as it did the suggestions of a Gibbons or an Ireland. Under such circumstances the American Church might find itself once more somewhat abandoned to its own devices, like a scouting party which has for a time lost contact with its main body.[43]

Leclerc's study may be taken as the immediate precursor of the controversy over "Americanism" in the Roman Catholic Church referred to previously. Between 1891 and 1903, while the Church-State problem in France was in its most acute state, French writers, attracted by such works as those by De Tocqueville, Chabrol, Carlier, and Leclerc, turned towards America for suggestions as to a possible solution of their own difficulties.

One group of writers acquired from their studies an admiration of the American Church, its accomplishments, and its practices. Another group, adopting a totally different viewpoint, professed to see in the Church of the United States a threat to the unity of the Universal Church and a departure from the doctrinal teachings of the See of Peter. Their researches were but the prelude to publications in which their individually acquired convictions emerged as controversial material for an unseemly dispute that called forth the condemnation of the Sovereign Pontiff in 1899. The story of the controversy is too complex to be told here. The topic affords a superb opportunity for the church historian who is capable, understanding, and penetrating in his views of men, events, and intellectual concepts. To entrust the study of this material, which is largely doctrinal in character, to the investigations of an inexperienced researcher would be as disastrous as permitting an infant to play with uncooked eggs.

In 1903 Monsignor Bernard O'Reilly, an American, published a biography of Pope Leo XIII which had the approval of the pontiff himself, and which was based on notes and documents furnished the author at the order of Pope Leo. O'Reilly's account of the controversy over "Americanism" may therefore be accepted as

[43] *Ibid.*, 240-241.

being a description of the affair as seen from Rome. He claims that the discussions which had taken place in France concerning American Catholicism before the publication of Father Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker* had not led to the acrimonious exchanges that took place thereafter. With the appearance of the French version of Hecker's *Life,* however, the Abbé Maignen, a French priest, published a book attacking the orthodoxy of Hecker, and accusing Cardinal Gibbons and two American bishops of being the accomplices of ex-priests like Charbonnel and Bourrier in building up an American syndicate to push the cause of an American saint in Europe. The Pope acted at once. Writing to Cardinal Gibbons, Leo XIII condemned the doctrines and tendencies attributed to Father Hecker, without affirming that these were actually the teachings of the founder of the Paulist Society. The Cardinal and other American prelates, as well as the Paulists, replied to this letter in a way to prove to the Pope that Maignen's book was not worthy of consideration as a true exposition of the facts in the case or the teachings of Father Hecker. With these proofs and assurances the Pope was completely satisfied.[44]

This is but a rough sketch of what actually happened. "Americanism" did not first emerge as an issue for Rome to decide in 1898, when Maignen published his vicious attack on the American Church, nor did it end in 1899 with the letter of Pope Leo. In a certain sense, it is still a problem with which the Holy See must contend. There are certain opinions held abroad concerning the character of American Catholicism that, if investigated impartially, would not encourage in us that complacency about ourselves that is only too often our attitude towards other peoples—in spiritual as well as in temporal affairs. For this reason it seems worthwhile to call attention to a few of the "pros" and "cons" that emerged during the course of the French controversy over American Catholic practices. It should be noted here that the following sketch is in no way definitive or complete.

[44] *Life of Leo XIII* (Chicago, Philadelphia, 1903). The Latin text of Leo XIII's letter, *Testem benevolentiae,* to Cardinal Gibbons, as well as an Italian translation, is in *La Civiltà Cattolica,* V, series XVII (1899), 513-528. The English translation of the Pope's letter, together with the Paulist reply thereto, is in *The Catholic World,* LXIX (Apr.-Sept., 1899), 133-139.

A few writers of the period, like Adolphe de Chambrun, Edmond de Nevers, and Emile Boutmy, confided to print their general impressions of American institutions and culture. They praised uniformly the religious freedom of the United States and the American doctrine of separation of Church and State. While not directly parties to the controversy over "Americanism", their books were used as authoritative sources by the polemical writers, and must therefore be considered by anyone interested in devoting more time to the problem in general.[45] Among the controversialists who defended the American Church should be included the names of Abbé Maumus, the Vicomte de Meaux, Abbé Félix Klein, Monsignor Péchenard, H. Gabriels, and Abbé Quiévreux. Chabrol, too, had his word to say on behalf of Father Hecker.[46]

Their statement of the case for the American way of doing things might be summarized briefly as follows. The Church in the United States has reached the point where it is accepted by non-Catholic Americans as an institution in accord with American ideals. While it has not overcome certain prejudices directed against it, the Council of Baltimore of 1889 marked the entrance of the Church into the public life of the United States, the beginning of a new era in American Catholic history. The Church of the United States has failed in many respects, but it is nevertheless a sound and flourishing limb of the central Roman tree. In answer to those who claim that the growth of the Church is neither remarkable nor rapid, the reply is that the quality of American Catholicism is of

[45] A. de Chambrun, *Droits et libertés aux Etats-Unis. Leurs origines et leurs progrès* (Paris, 1891). E. de Nevers, *L'Ame Américaine. Les origines. La vie historique* (2 vols., Paris, 1900). E. Boutmy, *Eléments d'une psychologie politique du peuple américain. La nation, la patrie, l'état, la religion* (Paris, 1902).

[46] P. Maumus, *La République et la politique de l'Eglise. Le pouvoir. La loi. La liberté* (Paris, 1892); M.C.A. de Meaux, *L'Eglise catholique et la liberté aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1893), and "L'Eglise catholique aux Etats-Unis", in *Revue de Lille*, VIII (1903-04), 385-395; F. Klein, "Catholicisme américain", in *Revue Française d'Edimbourg*, I (Sept.-Oct., 1897), 306-314; Mgr. Péchenard, *La Fin de l'Américanisme en France* (Paris, 1901); H. Gabriels, "Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis durant le XIX^{e} siècle", in *Le Correspondant*, 205 (Jan. 10, 1901), 3-37; P. Quiévreux, *L'Anti-démocratisme. Sus à l'Eglise! Sus à Leon XIII! Sus à la France!* (Amiens, 1902); G. de Chabrol, "Un prêtre américain, le R. P. Hecker", in *Le Correspondant*, 190 (May 25, June 10, 1897).

very high order. American Catholics are Catholics in both spirit and in practice. Either they leave the Church completely or they live up to its teachings thoroughly. The American Church is poor and its social status is not high, chiefly because of the immigrant character of much of its membership. But this membership is faithful and honest. American priests do not always have the fullest educational advantages, but they work harder, are more enterprising, and show more zeal than their European colleagues. What is quite important is that the ideas of the clergy and of the people coincide. As a result, the clergy is near to the people and a part of them. They translate into action the democratic principles of American institutions. The hierarchy, too, without altering the ancient Roman discipline, has applied it wisely to a new and democratic society. In fine, the American clergy is one with the American laity, and both love and admire the American political system which insures their freedom by protecting them from political influences. This American system is the hope of those in France who seek in religion and liberty a safeguard for democracy.

With the appearance in 1897 of the French translation of Father Hecker's *Life* the controversy reached its acute stage.[47] Immediately Hecker was presented by French protagonists of the American Church as an example of the best Catholic practice in the United States. He became the symbol for American Catholicism in the minds of many Frenchmen, although his teachings and practices had not gone unquestioned even in the United States. Unwarranted assumptions were made concerning his beliefs on the authority of the Church, the extent and character of ecclesiastical discipline, the rules of the religious life, the methods of the apostolate, and explanations of Catholic dogma. So broad were these assumptions that, had they been true, American Catholicism would have been nothing more than a somewhat modified Protestantism. And so the antagonists of the Church in the United States presented it.

French attacks upon the Catholic Church in America had preceded the publication of Hecker's *Life*. They achieved a new intensity and virulence thereafter, so that the evils of American

[47] W. Elliott, *Le Père Hecker, fondateur des Paulistes américains* (Paris, 1897).

Catholic teaching and practice were exaggerated to the point of giving scandal. A word of warning is in order here. The fact that the writings of such authors as Maignen degenerated into vicious personal attacks and false generalizations does not mean that all of those who opposed "Americanism" belonged in the same category, nor does it mean that, because the faults of the American Church as seen by these writers were exaggerated, they were totally non-existent. Most of the participants in this battle of the inkwells were sincere and honest men, beset by very real and very serious problems for which they sought a fair and equitable solution. The France of their day was a France torn asunder by the most vicious type of attack upon the institution for whose very life they were fighting. It was to be expected that the heat of controversy in the market place should carry over into their intellectual work, particularly when that work centered around the very problem that was the source of prevailing popular dissension.

The offensive against "Americanism" was led by Maignen, supported by G. Bonet-Maury, Fédéric Boudin, the Jesuit, Alphonse J. Delattre, Abbé Henri Delassus, Jules Paul Tardivel, and the Franciscan, Joseph de Léonisse.[48]

Their line of attack was to discredit American Catholic practice and teaching by questioning the value of the results achieved by the Church in the United States and by emphasizing what they considered questionable doctrinal presentations in vogue in this country. Delattre, to choose a typical example, wrote that Hecker and his followers had popularized a new kind of Catholic devotion in which the Christian's life is regulated almost exclusively through inner

[48] C. Maignen, *La Souveraineté du peuple est une hérésie. A propos d'une brochure du P. Maumus* (Paris, 1892); *Etudes sur l'Américanisme. Le Père Hecker, est-il un saint?* (Paris, 1898); *Nationalisme, catholicisme, revolution* (Paris, 1901); *Nouveau catholicisme et nouveau clergé* (Paris, 1901); G. Bonet-Maury, *Le Congrès des religions à Chicago en 1893* (Paris, 1895); F. Boudin, "Ultramontanisme et démocratie", in *Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie*, Feb., 1897; "L'Américanisme", *ibid.*, 1899; A. J. Delattre, S.J., *Un Catholicisme américain* (Namur, 1898); *L'Américanisme. Une planche de salut* (Paris, 1898); H. Delassus, *L'Américanisme et la conjuration antichrétienne* (Lille, 1899); J. P. Tardivel, *La Situation religieuse aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1900); J. de Léonisse, "La Situation religieuse aux Etats-Unis", in *Etudes Franciscaines*, X (July-Dec., 1903), 351-366.

communion with the Holy Ghost. It was what he called "an independent, republican, democratic asceticism."[49] Léonisse held that it was a "mélange of positivism, of secularism, of materialism, of the worship of wealth, and of anarchy: the principles of the French Revolution."[50] Maignen, referring to what he viewed as an American plot to push the cause of Father Hecker in Europe, wrote: "We say to the supporters of Americanism: what you propose for the admiration of the multitude, what you boast of as equalling our most glorious achievements, what you would place upon our altars, is not the Christian, is not the priest, is not the saint, but is your ideas, your illusions, and your errors!"[51] His presentation of "Americanism" fully justified his conclusion that it was one of the greatest dangers menacing the Catholic Church.[52] The difficulty was, of course, that he had understood neither the teachings of Father Hecker, nor the true Catholic life of the United States. The arguments used by Delattre, Maignen, and the others to discredit the achievements of American Catholicism followed the same general pattern. There was an element of truth in all that they wrote, and because of that truthful nucleus what they had to say is worthy of more serious consideration than can be given it here.

Underneath the superficial freedom of the American system, they argued, burn constantly the fires of fanaticism and prejudice. Religious liberty in theory does not exist in practice, as is evidenced by the unwritten constitutional proscription against a Catholic president. The spirit of the government is not only anti-Catholic but deist rather than Christian. The real god of the American people and government is humanity—man, not Christ. Since Christ said "Who is not with Me is against Me", true Catholicism cannot give unqualified support to a political system that is essentially un-Christian. American free-thought, which is substituting itself for Protestantism, is, like free-thought the world over, positively hostile to religion. It is not content to disbelieve itself, but seeks to destroy the faith of others. The school question is America's

[49] *Un Catholicisme américain*, viii.
[50] *Etudes Franciscaines*, X, 353.
[51] *Le Père Hecker, est-il un saint?*, 88.
[52] *Ibid.*, 390-391.

gift to Europe. The radically false principle that the education of the child is a function of the State—which leads to the God-less school—originated in New England. American statistics prove that criminality and pauperism increase as the school is separated from the family and the Church. The State "gone bad" makes its schools evil. The evil school depraves youth. The depravity of youth is the diabolic end sought by the supporters of naturalism by placing the school under State patronage. Under this tyrannical regime the Catholics of the United States are condemned to remain for an indefinite period. There are but three courses they may follow: (1) create Catholic schools wherever they can; (2) boast less of the liberty they enjoy in order that they do not make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of other people; (3) pray humbly to God that He not permit the sects of America to remove from them their last liberty—the right to establish Catholic schools, even while requiring that they help support the public system.

The development of the American Catholic Church, they continued, is in no way remarkable, but is due to tremendous Catholic European immigration, and to the high birth rate among these immigrants. There has been no success in converting American Protestants to Catholicism, nor has there been any concerted effort to do so. The Catholics of the United States have not even thought of organizing a league of prayer for the conversion of the American people. Such action does not conform to the American spirit; it is too mystical for Americans to appreciate. They depend almost exclusively upon personal and direct action, forgetting entirely that purely supernatural means must be joined to purely natural means in order that an action be complete and effective. There has been much zeal for the conversion of the Indians, but the results have been most mediocre, due in part to the hostile attitude of the Federal Government. There has been a complete failure to win over to Catholicism the large negro population of the United States, due directly and entirely to a lack of Catholic zeal. Vocations are rare; there are not enough priests to care for the spiritual wants of American Catholics.

The losses of the American Church make the situation even sadder. Not only has it failed to convert the Protestants, the

Indians, and the negroes, but it has failed to keep in the Church millions who came to the United States as Catholics. The causes of these losses are: (1) the contagion of American materialism and atheism; (2) mixed marriages; and (3) lack of priests. These facts inevitably confirm that doctrine of the Church which holds that the principles of liberalism, of the common law, of the free Church in the free State, of the separation of the Church from the State, are not the principles most favorable to the development of religion. It follows that the United States has not discovered a new way to solve the ancient problem of Church and State in a satisfactory manner, and that the American method could not and should not be followed in Europe. The bishops and priests who did great work in America did so in the ancient apostolic manner—by preaching Christ crucified—not by gossiping with reporters from the profane journals. The Gospels, not politics, were their armament. "They knew", wrote Léonisse, "that one reaches heaven now, as always, *non pas en chemin de fer, mais seulement par le Chemin de la Croix.*" [53]

There were other French writers who put pen to paper during this same period, but who declined to take an active part in the controversy over "Americanism". Two authors, Coppinger and Houtin, attempted to assess the controversy and its results.[54] Houtin provided the best general treatment of the subject, together with a critical bibliography of its literature. Urbain Gohier contented himself with an enlightening note on his reaction to a sermon by Bishop Spalding: "His doctrine was the antithesis of the doctrine of gloom and death that we hear preached by his confreres in the Old World. It seemed to me, listening to him, that I could be a Catholic bishop in the United States, and that the Catholic bishops of that country would be burned at the stake in Europe." [55]

Ferdinand Brunetière, academician, and distinguished editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, while unquestionably sympathetic to the *Americanistes*, succeeded in keeping his balance fairly well. He

[53] *Etudes Franciscaines*, X, 366.

[54] M. Coppinger, *La Polémique française sur la vie du P. Hecker* (Paris, 1898); Albert Houtin, *L'Américanisme* (Paris, 1904).

[55] *Le Peuple du XX^e siècle aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1903), 136.

saw more objectively than his fellow writers both the advantages and the disadvantages of the American system, and he was careful not to overemphasize either. The result, published in his own journal, provides one of the best-balanced reactions to American Catholicism that came out of France during these trying years.[56] As he saw it, De Tocqueville's prophecy about Catholicism in the United States had been fulfilled. No manner of objection could deny the visible fact of Catholic development in America. This development, Brunetière made clear, had taken place in spite of the Protestant fear that spiritual loyalty to Rome made Catholics less American. Through the gradual allaying of suspicion, through the patient conflict against deep-seated prejudice, American Catholicism had become strong and self-sufficient. To such an extent was this true that in the United States the Church paid great devotion to the dogmas of Papal Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception, although they were perhaps the two most difficult dogmas for converts to accept. Instead of de-emphasizing them for the sake of their Protestant neighbors, American Catholics dedicated the Church in the United States to the Immaculate Conception, and drew more closely the ties between Rome and America. Brunetière saw clearly the unsettled and tortuous problems which the Church had yet to solve. He did not minimize their difficulty nor their importance, but he did conclude that American experience had proven that Catholicism has nothing to fear from liberty, and that liberty has nothing to fear from Catholicism.

One other name deserves to be associated with those authors who viewed the American Church objectively despite the controversial nature of prevailing French opinion on the subject. That is the name of M. A. André. His publications cannot be located with ease in the United States, but, when found, they are worth the reading. In 1905 he published a short factual history of the Church in this country, at the end of which he attached some extremely pertinent observations on prevailing American religious trends and the possibilities of future Catholic development here.[57] Two addi-

[56] "Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 68e année, 4e période, vol. 150 (Nov. 1, 1898), 140-181.

[57] *Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord* (2 vols. in one, Paris, 1905).

tional volumes, published in 1907, were likewise historical in character, although less general in their coverage.[58] For most purposes the earlier volume expresses this author's views quite fully.

American Catholicism was born in travail, and in travail it must always develop, wrote André. Only thus can it properly fulfill its divine mission. The school question, which was acute at the time, involved Protestant as well as Catholic interests, and promised grave difficulties for the future. Other problems no less grave were bound to arise. Yet the Church had progressed marvelously. Religious orders had multiplied prodigiously in the last years of the nineteenth century; theological seminaries and colleges for laymen had been established in great numbers; the Catholic lay press was beginning to make itself felt; Catholic associations and reading circles were springing into being.

But herein lurked the possibility of future danger. Might not all this activity create among less prudent Catholics tendencies more or less tainted with condemnable liberalism? Catholics had participated in the Parliament of Religions in 1893 with the sole purpose of doing a service to their faith, but in such activities there was always inherent the possibility that dogmatic teaching, so essential to integral Catholicism, would be de-emphasized. Differences of opinion among American Catholics on the school question arose from the purest motives, yet because of the resultant internal division there existed the danger that many would come to view the neutral schools as being less a threat than they were claimed to be, and that the best course of action would be to make concessions in this regard in order to conciliate Protestant opinion in favor of the Church. Since the Knights of Labor had been preserved from papal condemnation by action of the American hierarchy, might not there be created a tendency to show more leniency towards other similar associations, and to moderate the principles of the Church concerning secret societies on the pretext that in America at least they were more philanthropic than dangerous?

More serious still was the possibility that the most enlightened Catholic leadership, anxious to bring the Church into perfect

[58] *Luttes pour la liberté de l'église catholique aux Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1907); and *Une page d'histoire sur les associations cultuelles* (Paris, 1907).

harmony with modern society, might exalt the practice of the natural virtues to the detriment of the Christian virtues. The very zeal of American Catholicism which seeks intimate contacts with the masses might give rise to regrettable methods of evangelisation and to an exaggerated appreciation of the so-called active virtues in contrast to those mis-called passive. Might not such a development lead to a lessened belief in the necessity of external direction or obedience to legitimate authority? Might not all this result in a too-exclusive individualism? Might not the logical conclusion of such tendencies be a conviction that the contemplative religious orders are more or less useless and that religious vows are an anachronism in this modern age? Further, might not the same attitude be extended to the Church-State relationship, so that civil authority might come to be considered absolutely free from all religious controls? In a word, might not emphasis upon action in religion lead imperceptibly to fatal concessions on doctrinal points and on the requirements of a Christian life? These were the intangible but very real dangers that faced the American Church as André saw it. He recognized clearly the desire of Catholics in the United States to conciliate their religion with the times and with the society in which they lived, but he also envisioned in that laudable desire the latent threat that American Catholicism might lose sight of the supernatural elements of the Roman creed and thereby fall into serious error.[59]

Since 1907 only three French publications worthy of note have made their appearance. The first of these was a book by Abbé Félix Klein in 1908;[60] the second, an article by Abbé Alain de Lamartine in the *Revue de Paris* of 1926;[61] and the third, a volume by Alphonse Lugan in 1930.[62]

[59] For André's conclusions, summarized above, see his *Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis,* II, 61-80.

[60] *La Séparation aux Etats-Unis; histoire, lois, coutumes, documents* (Paris, 1908).

[61] "Le passé et l'avenir du catholicisme aux Etats-Unis", *Revue de Paris,* 33e année, tome 4e (July-Aug., 1926), 652-677.

[62] *Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis; son passé, son présent, son avenir* (Paris, 1930).

Klein's book was a monograph on the Church-State relationship in the United States. Klein had long been a staunch advocate of the American system. His conclusions in this volume were uniformly favorable to that system. He saw the position of the Church in this country in a rosy light. His optimism about its progress and future was so complete that the depth of his insight into American social life can be seriously questioned. Lamartine's article was a summary review of American Catholic history with some paragraphs of conclusions as to future tendencies. He developed no ideas that are not to be found more fully treated in Lugan's later book.

That volume makes good reading for any American Catholic interested in the progress of his Church. Lugan has words of high praise for Catholic America, and words of objectively impartial criticism that make the honest stop and think. There is no more devoted, practicing Catholic laity in the world, he says, than is to be found in the United States. It has at its service a Church uncontaminated by political connections, serving neither authority nor liberty at the expense of the other. This Church succeeded, under Gibbons and his able colleagues in the hierarchy, in destroying Protestant prejudice that looked upon Catholicism as an institution repugnant to American ideals. Catholicism is not contrary to the spirit of American society, for the Yankee is above all a pragmatist. The Church offers to this pragmatist the solid basis of authority which he seeks to guide his social life, something that Protestantism and Judaism in their various manifestations cannot do. In this situation lies the inherent strength of American Catholicism.

For various reasons the Church of the United States has not fully realized the expectations which it might properly entertain. Cardinal Gibbons and his fellow bishops won for the Church a recognized place in American life, but thus far Catholics have failed to utilize the opportunity offered them by acquiring intellectual prestige. With a few exceptions American Catholicism has produced no scientists, writers, historians, or artists who have commanded the general respect and esteem of their fellow citizens. Major social questions touching upon the basic verities are spread in discussion over the journals and papers of America. The man

in the street, Catholic as well as Protestant, is affected by the everyday problems of living. The masses are reading, studying, and discussing questions that involve the deepest truths of revealed religion, yet Catholic leaders remain cloistered in the seclusion of their academic retreats, afraid, or unwilling, or unable to assume the duties which the times lay upon their shoulders. The result is that the Church is disregarded by the intellectual elite of the United States as a force of little consequence in public affairs. In civic prestige the Church has likewise suffered because of the participation of her members in questionable political organizations.

Lugan's "pragmatic Yankee", anxious to find a rock on which to ground his tossing craft of life safe from the uncertainties of a disordered world, this average non-Catholic American of little or no established belief, who nevertheless possesses a true religious sense, has not yet been offered the evidence that Catholicism has the answer to his problems. Somewhere the American Church is at fault, for it has failed to impress America with the soundness of its doctrines. The clergy is not altogether without blame. They may be criticized for allowing racial and national bias to creep occasionally into their activities and utterances. The millions of Negroes in the United States are a standing reproach to the American Church, for there are today fewer Catholics among them than there were before the Civil War. The Church is rich, its members are generous, but in the churches there is too much talk of money and not enough of revealed religion. Sacramentalism is a minor ill that afflicts the American Church. Religious demonstrations tend to become parades wherein frequently the spiritual element is subordinated to other considerations. Divisions and rivalries within the Church alienate those without. Religious orders frequently do not take their neighbors into account, but build colleges, universities, convents, and churches without questioning their necessity. Says Lugan: "*La maladie de la pierre est incurable.*"[63] Finally, Lugan claims that one of the most damaging criticisms of the Church here is that Catholic converts are too few. Efforts at proselytizing are timid and inefficacious, so that most American conversions today result from marriages. This situation is almost inexcusable in view

[63] *Ibid.*, 148.

of the millions of Americans who claim no religious affiliation but are ready to accept any rule of life that promises them a solid prop in their personal conflict with the world, the flesh, and the devil. There are two principal reasons for this failure. One is the Catholic lack of that prestige which is frequently a necessary requisite for efficient exploitation of such opportunities. The second, and perhaps more important reason is that American Catholics shut themselves up in an ivory tower. Quoting Dr. Schumacher, Lugan says that if this were the time of St. Francis or St. Charles, there would not be a single Episcopalian in the United States! [64]

So for a century American Catholicism aroused the curiosity of the French. This curiosity impelled further investigations that resulted in praise and in blame, in approval and in criticism. Throughout this lengthy period, however, regardless of divergent points of view, there has been universal recognition of the fact that America possesses a branch of the ancient Roman Catholic Church that, for good or ill, has certain unique peculiarities. It is Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic, but it is also free, democratic, and popular. Are these qualities irreconcilable, or are Americans working out for the future a solution of a centuries-old problem involving the relationship between an independent temporal authority on the one hand, and an independent spiritual authority on the other? For Americans and Frenchmen alike, the answer lies in the future. Whatever social equations American Catholics may utilize to secure the answer must be weighed with care. Of one thing above all others should they beware: the development of that complacency which is destructive of reasoned self-appraisal. Occasional reference to ourselves as others see us is an invigorating and chastening experience.

JOHN J. MENG

[64] *Ibid.*, 148. The quotation is from *The Ecclesiastical Review*, Aug., 1921, 148.

MISCELLANY

I

A Note on Mediaeval Judgments

The idea of mediaeval justice is often associated with ordeal and inquisition, with vindictive judges, with arbitrary and inhuman punishments. That there was a great amount of sound, sober justice administered in the Middle Ages no one would deny. Yet since it is the spectacular and not the ordinary which impresses, much of the modern world unconsciously believes, if it does not publicly profess, that in the Middle Ages the defendant was penalized, now justly, now without reason, in any case usually too severely. It is therefore pleasantly disturbing to learn of a mediaeval judge whose penalties were not only as humane as those of modern arbiters but which were, on the whole, much more effective.

In the summer of 1381 William Courteney was promoted to the see of Canterbury. As metropolitan he exercised extensive judicial powers and his register records many instances in which he was called upon to adjudicate disputes, probate wills, impose penalties, and in general perform the varied tasks which fell to the lot of the mediaeval prelate. His record is that of an intelligent, just, and eminently reasonable arbiter. His judgments, though occasionally severe, were neither excessively harsh nor vindictive. His realization that neither bodily duress nor pecuniary expense was as effective a deterrent to future lapses as humiliation and the fear of derision is a tribute to his knowledge of human nature.

Courteney's register describes several penances imposed by the archbishop, in which, at least to modern eyes, the element of humiliation looms largest. One of these grew out of an event which took place in the course of Courteney's visitation of the diocese of Exeter. Early in 1384 the archbishop became involved in a serious dispute with Thomas Brantingham, the Bishop of Exeter, over the question of their respective rights during the course of the visitation. After several weeks of claims and counterclaims the archbishop directed three of his canons to carry a summons to Brantingham. As the three were upon this mission they were attacked by adherents of the bishop, who forced the bearer of the summons to open it and swallow the wax with which it had been sealed. Courteney immediately excommunicated those guilty of the outrage and several months later, when asked by the culprits for absolution from their sentences, imposed the following punishment:

> . . . that on some solemn church festival before Easter, they shall take part in a procession in the cathedral churches of Exeter, London, and Canterbury, bareheaded and carrying a wax taper weighing three pounds, which they shall offer to God and to the church during the solemn mass immediately after the gospel; and they . . . shall provide out of their own means a suitable chaplain who shall celebrate mass each day for a year at the tomb of the Lord Earl of Devon, recently deceased, who is buried in the said cathedral church of Exeter, the masses to be offered for his soul, for those of his parents, and for the souls of all the faithful departed; and each of them shall donate 20 shillings toward the repair of the walls of the diocese of Canterbury, and shall likewise bring testimonial letters to the said Lord [Archbishop] of Canterbury before next Easter, signed with the seals of both the prior and convent of Canterbury, as well as with those of the deans of the said cathedral churches of Exeter and London, which will testify that they have faithfully performed the penance.[1]

Another penance described in Courtney's register was imposed upon six of the archbishop's tenants who had paid their rents in a manner conducive to "the villification of the Lord Archbishop and the subversion of the church of Canterbury." Instead of conveying the hay they owed the archbishop in wagons, "openly, and in sufficient quantity, they brought too little straw and that in sacks and by stealth." The archbishop's secretary goes on to record:

> A salutary penance commensurate with their crime was enjoined upon each of them, namely, that on the following Sunday the said penitents, bareheaded and barefoot, were to walk, humbly and reverently, with short steps, in the procession to be held at the collegiate church of Wengham, each with a sack on his shoulder, which they were to carry in such a manner so as to be seen by all, so full of hay and straw that it would stick out of the open end of the sack.[2]

A third penance which is noted in the archbishop's register was imposed upon persons guilty of a purely religious offence. During his vigorous but only partially successful fight against Lollardy, which took root and spread over much of England while he occupied the see of Canterbury, Courteney took extreme measures against some of the supposed heretics. When, during his visitation of the diocese of Lincoln, several persons suspected of Lollardy failed to appear at his summons, he excommunicated them forthwith. Some weeks later three of those excommunicated, William Smith, Roger Dexter, and his wife, Alice, presented themselves to the archbishop to make their submission. Courteney gave them the following penance:

> . . . on the Sunday following their return home, they [William Smith, Roger and Alice Dexter] shall lead the procession at the collegiate church

[1] Register of William Courteney, I, *fol.* 114*a*-114*b*.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, *fol.* 337*b*.

of St. Mary's in Newark, William with an image of St. Catherine[3] in his right hand, Roger and Alice with crucifixes, all carrying candles weighing one-half pound in their left hands, each bareheaded and barefoot, William and Roger in their undershirts and drawers, Alice in her undergarment; and thrice during the procession, once at the beginning, again at the middle, and lastly at the end, they shall genuflect and devoutly kiss these same images in reverence to the cross, to the memory of His passion, and to the honor of the Virgin; and after they have entered the church with the procession they shall stand, while the high mass is being sung, in front of a crucifix, with the images and candles in their hands; and at the end of the mass the said William, Roger, and Alice shall make an offering to him who celebrated the mass; furthermore, on the following Saturday, in the full public market place of the town of Leicester, the said William, Roger, and Alice, in their undergarments as before, with no additional clothing and with the same images in their right hands, shall genuflect and kiss these images three times, once at the entrance to the market place, again in the middle, and for the third time at the further end; and William, because he has had some education, shall recite an antiphon and the collect of the feast of St. Catherine, while Roger and Alice, being unlettered, will say with devotion a Pater Noster and Ave Maria; and on the Sunday immediately following they shall stand and do in the parish church of that same village just as they had done the preceding Sunday in the said collegiate church; and at the end of mass they shall offer, humbly and with reverence, the candles they had been holding to the priest or chaplain who read the mass; and in view of the present cold weather, lest the penitents should contract some bodily injury from standing so long uncovered, we so moderate our rigor that after they have entered these churches, they shall put on what additional clothing they may require while hearing mass, provided, however, that their heads and feet remain bare.[4]

This penance leads the chronicler to declare that "the impudent Lollards were repressed more from fear of the archbishop than from love of God."[5] Still the archbishop can hardly be accused of cruelty. The offerings and the taking part in processions in distant cities which were required of the penitents entailed hardships but not physical suffering. Nor were these hardships more than incidental, since the real punishment consisted of the mortification experienced by the penitent when performing his penance. In thus stressing mental rather than bodily pain, Courteney not only showed himself a good judge of men, but at the same time employed a means which, as a check against future failings, proved as effective as it was humane.

JOSEPH DAHMUS

[3] William had broken up an image of St. Catherine to use for firewood to cook vegetables. *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, II, 313.

[4] Register of William Courteney, I, *fol.* 144*b*.

[5] *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, II, 313.

II

The Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association

Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, December 27-30, 1940

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Association was held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, December 27-30, 1940. The sessions were well attended, members coming from cities as far away as Atchison, Kansas, New Orleans, Spring Hill, Alabama, St. Louis, Detroit, Chicago, St. Paul, Mt. Calvary, Wisconsin, and San Antonio, Texas.

The meeting was held under the auspices of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York, who generously met all the expenses of the meeting. The chairman of the General Committee was Mr. Robert Louis Hoguet, president of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank. Mr. Hoguet was assisted by a large group of priests and laity in arousing the interest of many teachers and students of history in our sessions. The Committee on Registration and Information was composed of groups of students from Catholic colleges for girls—Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, College of New Rochelle, College of Mount Saint Vincent, and Saint Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn. Miss Elizabeth M. Lynskey, associate professor of political science, Hunter College, was chairman of this committee.

At the first public session on Friday morning, December 27, Sister Mary Celeste Leger, R.S.M., professor of history in Saint Xavier College, Chicago, was chairman. The first paper was *Jesuit Writers of History* by Reverend Martin P. Harney, S.J., of Boston College. This appeared in the January, 1941, issue of the Review. Then followed *The American Church as Seen by De Tocqueville and Others* by John J. Meng, assistant professor of political science in Queens College, Flushing, New York. The closing paper, *The Rôle of History in the Hierarchy of Knowledge* by the Reverend Gerald B. Phelan, president of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, was not read owing to Dr. Phelan's unavoidable absence.

The president, Professor Herbert H. Coulson, of St. Louis University, presided over the annual business meeting, held Friday afternoon at three o'clock. The following reports were read:

1. Report of the Treasurer (Reverend John K. Cartwright):

Financial Statement from December 1, 1939 to December 1, 1940

Account I. General Fund

Investments—December 1, 1939	$5,500.00
Cash on Hand—December 1, 1939	$1,332.66

RECEIPTS:			
Annual Dues		2,776.26	
Interest: From Investments		165.00	
Contributions to Meeting's Expense		275.00	
		$4,548.92	$5,500.00
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Office Expense:			
Rent of Office and Telephone Service	$ 74.00		
Supplies and Service	143.14		
Secretary's Salary	750.00		
Bookkeeper	120.00		
	1,087.14		
Meeting's Expenses 1939, December	569.06		
Expenses of the Catholic Historical Review	1,684.20		
Donation to Catholic Biblical Association of America	5.00		
Rent of Safety Deposit Box	5.55		
Exchange on checks and bad checks	13.83		
		3,364.78	
CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1940		$1,184.14	
INVESTMENTS—December 1, 1940			$5,500.00

ACCOUNT II. REVOLVING ACCOUNT

PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS

CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1939			$232.79
RECEIPTS:			
U. S. Ministers to Papal States		$221.26	
Volume III of *Papers*		2.00	
			223.26
			$456.05
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Postage		$ 30.00	
J. H. Furst & Co.		28.75	
			58.75
CASH ON HAND DECEMBER 1, 1940			$397.30

SUMMARY

INVESTMENTS:		
ACCOUNT I		$5,500.00
CASH ON HAND:		
ACCOUNT I	$1,184.14	
ACCOUNT II	397.30	
TOTAL CASH BALANCE	$1,581.44	
GRAND TOTAL		$7,081.44

2. Report of the Committee on Publications (Leo F. Stock):

Your committee has nothing to report this year beyond routine matters. The Review has completed another volume in which most of the papers read at last year's meeting appeared. Several circumstances made it inadvisable to collect these contributions to the history of Latin American culture in a volume of the Association's *Papers*.

Because of lack of funds the work of collating the copied Instructions and Despatches of the United States Consuls to the Papal States was again postponed. It is to be regretted that this projected second volume of the Association's *Documents* cannot be brought to early publication. It is hoped that the Executive Council and the Association will give serious consideration to this matter.

3. Report of the Committee on Membership (Reverend Francis A. Mullin):

The committee on membership has the honor of presenting the following annual report as of December 15, 1940:

Total membership on December 15, 1939		712
Delinquent (two years) members	23	
Resignations during 1940	20	
Loss by death during 1940	16	
		59
Total		653
New members during 1940		37
Total Membership (December 15, 1940)		690

The new Annual Members are: Miss Viola T. Argy, Niagara Falls, New York; Rev. Maurice B. Alexander, Solomon's Island, Maryland; Rev. Ralph F. Bayard, C.M., St. Thomas Seminary, Denver; Rev. Francis Aidan Brady, Philadelphia; Rev. Charles C. Chapman, S.J., Loyola University, New Orleans; Dr. Joseph Dahmus, College of Mt. St. Vincent on the Hudson, New York; Rev. P. J. Donnelly, S.J., Regis College, Denver; Rev. J. Sigmar von Fersen, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh; Dr. John Joseph Gorrell, Pittsburgh; Rt. Rev. John F. Glavin, D.D., Rensselaer, New York; Rev. Martin I. J. Griffin, Minneapolis; Miss Marie Jones, Washington, D. C.; Professor Henry S. Lucas, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington; Rev. William E. Lucey, S.J., Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.; Rev. J. H. Luckett, Louisville, Kentucky; Miss Isabel McKenzie, Maplewood, New Jersey; Rev. George J. Mehok, Fargo, North Dakota; Rev. Timothy F. O'Leary, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Brother Joseph J. Panzer, S.M., University of

Dayton, Dayton, Ohio; Rev. S. J. Ryder, Fort Wayne, Indiana; Miss Mary Lucile Shay, University of Illinois, Urbana; Mr. Benjamin S. Simmons, Washington, D. C.; Mother Katharyn Curtin, Maryville College, St. Louis; Sister Mary Albert, S.N.D., Covington, Kentucky; Sister M. Antonio, B.V.M., Superior, Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa; Sister M. Eleanor, St. Catharine Junior College, St. Catharine, Kentucky; Mother Mary Ferdinand, St. Mary's Academy, Fort Crawford Manor, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin; Sister M. Paul Fitzgerald, St. Mary College, Leavenworth, Kansas; Sister Mary Gertrude, R.S.M., Our Lady of Cincinnati College, Cincinnati; Sister Mary Gemma, Mount Marie Junior College, Canton, Ohio; The Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, St. Alice's Convent, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania; Sister Mary Magdalen, O.S.F., Dayton, Ohio; Sister M. Martina, R.S.M., St. Xavier's Academy, Providence, Rhode Island; Sister Mary Teresa, Presentation Convent, New York City; Sister Mary Xavier, St. Gabriel's Normal School, Worcester, Massachusetts; Sister M. Zoe, Seton High School, Baltimore; Miss Mary Watters, Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia.

The American Catholic Historical Association, as the figures given above indicate, has already begun to experience a loss which we particularly regret—the loss of many members from other lands. Some of these have been among the most loyal and devoted of our members and we hold the highest hopes of enrolling them soon again.

The very reasons why these losses have occurred, however, are the reasons why this Association needs firmer and more widespread support in this country. The temporary losses, therefore, should be an added incentive to renewed effort to increase our membership. Naturally, the committee needs generous co-operation and its chairman will welcome any suggestion towards that end.

4. Report of the Committee on Nominations (Reverend Francis S. Betten, S.J.):

The committee on nominations has the honor to present the following for the year 1941:

Officers

President — Marshall W. Baldwin, assistant professor of history, New York University.

First Vice-President—Martin Rawson Patrick McGuire, dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, The Catholic University of America.

Second Vice-President—Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., professor of politics, The Catholic University of America.

Secretary—Right Reverend Peter Guilday, professor of American church history, The Catholic University of America.

Assistant-Secretary—Reverend Joseph B. Code, instructor in history, The Catholic University of America.

Treasurer—Reverend John K. Cartwright, pastor of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D. C.

Archivist—Miss Josephine V. Lyon, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The above named officers with the following elected members:

Sister M. Augustina Ray, B.V.M., author of *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism during the Eighteenth Century*, professor of history in Mundelein College, Chicago.

Reverend James A. Magner, founder of the Charles Carroll of Carrollton Forum (Chicago). Author of *Men of Mexico, For God and Democracy*, and procurator of the Catholic University of America.

Reverend Fintan G. Walker, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Terre Haute, Indiana, and author of *The Catholic Church in the Meeting of Two Frontiers — The Southern Illinois Country (1763-1793)*.

Reverend John Tracy Ellis, instructor in history, The Catholic University of America.

Henry S. Lucas, professor of history, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

The Secretary was then empowered to cast a unanimous ballot for these officers and councillors.

5. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY (Right Reverend Peter Guilday), read by Martin R. P. McGuire, newly elected first vice-president of the Association:

For the past twenty-one years these annual reports of the Secretary have served a twofold purpose: first, to place on the permanent record of the Association our gratitude to all who had co-operated with our work in the year that had just closed and to those who had made these annual sessions a successful and pleasurable gathering of our members and friends, and secondly to report to the members the progress of the Association's business through the year. You will find in perusing these annual Reports that no one has been forgotten in our thanks. We extend to His Excellency, the Most Reverend Francis J.

Spellman, Archbishop of New York, our humble appreciation of his generosity and co-operation in this twenty-first annual meeting which is being held under his auspices. Our thanks are especially due to Mr. Robert Louis Hoguet, chairman of the New York General Committee and to those who have served with him, and to the chairman of the Committee on Registration and Information, Professor Elizabeth M. Lynskey of Hunter College, together with the young ladies of the colleges of Manhattanville, New Rochelle, Mount Saint Vincent, and of Saint Joseph's, Brooklyn, and their directresses.

To the speakers on our 1940 program, I offer the heartfelt thanks of the Association. A number of these papers will appear in the REVIEW during 1941. Two of these are already in page proof for the January issue: Father Harney's *Jesuit Writers of History*, which we heard this morning, and Professor Coulson's presidential address—*Mediaevalism and the Modern World*—which we will hear this afternoon at the conclusion of this annual business meeting.

We owe a special word of thanks to Professor Dwight C. Miner of Columbia University, the chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee of the American Historical Association, in making this spacious room available to us for the rest of our sessions. Mr. Rene Levy, the convention manager of the hotel, and his staff have been most gracious in their effort to make our meeting a success.

Each year at this particular session of our meeting, I have been fortunate in being able to place before our members either a project completed during the year or one about to begin.

We are living in an era of bibliographies which often bring envy to older scholars, who, however, will always have the memories of their own hard days of research. Two such bibliographies have been under preparation for some years.

The first will probably be entitled *The Historiography of American Catholic History*. Already much that is valuable on this subject has been printed in the REVIEW, in former proceedings of the Association, in Miss Griffin's *Writings*, and elsewhere. Literally, thousands of cards have been prepared and compared with the Union Catalogue in the Library of Congress. This type of work, as we all know, is painstaking and highly tedious. I have been rather fortunate in finding one graduate student who has assumed the task of putting all the materials together. He is a young American, a Benedictine, with a strong resemblance in spirit to Mabillon and his confrères of St. Maur. So, I have the hope that within a few years this work will be in your libraries.

The second project was—I am sorry to have to use the past tense—one for which I have an affectionate regard. My thought was to compile a bibliography of the writings of all our members from 1919, when

the Association was founded, to the present. Although some of my colleagues in the School of Law at the Catholic University of America disagree with me, I felt that the arrival of our twenty-first birthday was the end of our infancy, and that having come to maturity this year the franchise was ours to assume loftier and heavier responsibilities in the empire of history. I do not stress this, because one of the legal dons I consulted assured me that *infantia* in the older Roman law was tantamount to *insania*. There was certainly some trepidation in my mind when I called the founders together in Cleveland on December 31, 1919. But there has been nothing erratic in our growth during the past twenty-one years.

At any rate we have passed the infantile stage of our development. I planned, therefore, to have ready for distribution at this twenty-first annual meeting a classified list of all that has been written on historical topics by our members.

Such a catalogue would not only be very serviceable in itself, but it would give to all of us an encouraging proof of vitality in our chosen fields. We had this thought in mind in 1934 when the Association printed a little booklet, *A Retrospect of Fifteen Years*, containing a list of two hundred papers read at our annual meetings up to that time. The bibliography I speak of would, of course, contain all the writings of our members and would, therefore, be much larger in scope. This is the kind of task I should not like to hand over to anyone else, because it would be a work of gratitude to the members of the Association for the loyal and generous co-operation I have received during that long time.

Most of you know why that work has not been begun. Every assurance is being held out to me that the impairment under which I have suffered during the past year will gradually disappear and that I shall not be forced to come to you next year with empty hands.

Every year we have closed these sessions with a prayer of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the progress made in our consecration to the study of the history of our beloved Church. This year I add one little invocation in which I ask you to join—*Domine, ut videam!*

At the general session that same afternoon, Professor Coulson read his presidential address, *Mediaevalism and the Modern World*, which appeared in the January issue of the REVIEW. The newly-elected president of the Association, Marshall W. Baldwin, of New York University, presided.

The public session on Saturday morning, under the chairmanship of Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, head of the department of history at Fordham University, was devoted to three papers in the mediaeval field. The Reverend Aloysius K. Ziegler, associate professor of mediaeval Latin

literature and mediaeval history, The Catholic University of America, spoke on *Pope Gelasius I and His Teaching on the Relation of Church and State*. The Reverend Martin J. Higgins, instructor in Greek and in Byzantine history, The Catholic University of America, followed with a paper on *International Relations at the Close of the Sixth Century*. The Reverend Demetrius B. Zema, S.J., professor of mediaeval history, Fordham University, concluded the session with a paper on *Economic Phases of the Gregorian Reform in the Eleventh Century*.

In spite of the deep fog which covered the city on Sunday, a large number of members of all the groups meeting concurrently found its way that afternoon to Fordham University where a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association was held. The Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York, was present. The Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., professor of politics in the Catholic University of America, was chairman. Two papers were read: *The Jesuits and Liberalism a Century Ago*, by the Reverend Raymond Corrigan, S.J., of St. Louis University, and *Organized Anti-Catholicism, 1830-1860*, by Ray A. Billington of Smith College.

The final public session held on Monday, December 30, had as its chairman the Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. Four papers were read: *The Place of the American Hierarchy in the History of American Culture* by the Reverend Joseph B. Code, The Catholic University of America; *Lord Acton's Ideas on History* by Dr. Friedrich von Engel-Janosi, now lecturing at the Johns Hopkins University; *The Pan-Christian Movement* by Reverend Leonard Bacigalupo, O.F.M., professor of ecclesiastical history, St. Francis Seminary, Lowell, Massachusetts; and *Jesuit Contributions to Patristic Scholarship in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* by Martin R. P. McGuire, dean of the graduate school of arts and sciences, The Catholic University of America.

At the final meeting of the Executive Council it was decided to hold the twenty-second annual meeting in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, December 29, 30 and 31, 1941.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

From the Stone Age to Christianity. Monotheism and the Historical Process. By WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 363. $2.50.)

The scope of this synthesis is clear from the title. The work is instructive, stimulating, and profound. It has also a virtue with which only a very rare scholarship can endow a synthetic work—it not only presents, but assimilates with perfect ease and in just proportion, the latest original researches in every phase of the enormous field it covers.

It is not precisely in its over-all synthetic character, however, that the present reviewer wishes to recommend Professor Albright's work. It contains, in the first place, two full chapters which deal with the kind and quantity of data we now have for the cultural history, including the history of religion, of mankind in the pre-Christian period, with the methodology now employed in handling those data, and with the progress made and the results obtained in their interpretation, as of the year just past. Of the methodological sketch, its author rightly affirms that it is unique in modern historical literature; the chapter presenting results "contains the most up-to-date account of the present state of our knowledge of prehistory and of the ancient Near East." Both should be at the disposal of everyone who has even a moderate interest in the history of culture.

A chapter on the philosophy of history is included, in which the author provides a critique of various tendencies in that realm since Hegel, and then for his own part, strongly influenced by archaeological considerations, pronounces for an approach which he calls "organismic." The evaluation given of other modern systems is in general agreement, as Professor Albright himself notes, with the analogous results obtained by entering the field from the standpoint of scholastic philosophy. This latter approach he contrasts with his own "rational empiricism." His own system involves the admission of an Intelligence and a Will expressed in both history and nature—which two last he makes identical. He also tends to limit the range within which certainty is obtainable in historical matters to the realm of social or group phenomena; this has very important consequences when Christ, a single personality, is discussed.

From what has been said of the author's philosophical approach, it is clear that no one who admits the existence of the supernatural in God's

dealings with mankind will accept the synthesis presented, in its totality. Nevertheless, there are so many essentially right judgments given cogent expression, that such a reader, if his dogmatic background is sufficiently established to warrant attempting a synthesis of his own, can under the proper conditions profit largely from the portions of this work which deal specifically with the revelation through Moses and the prophets, and through Christ. The author recognizes, for example, that a complete synthesis of human history is an essentially theological problem; his appreciation of the relative positions of Moses, Elias, and Amos in the development of Hebrew religion is sound. He portrays many of the current aberrations in dealing with the scriptural evidence for what they are. Every point treated is handled with an objective scholarship to whose general competence it would be idle to testify in the face of the thirty pages of references in the notes at the end of the volume. These not only present the reader with a more than adequate key to the enormous literature involved, but incidentally reflect also the impressive range and importance of the author's previously published researches in relation to the field as a whole.

On another plane entirely, some reserve may be expressed as to the rôle assigned to dynamistic concepts in the development of ancient religion; neither the amount of evidence obtainable, nor their intrinsic content and the latent possibilities thus included, seem adequate for the rather fundamental position assigned to them—mainly *ex hypothesi*—by the author.

That a book of the far-reaching importance of this volume could appear with the perfection in format and typography which it has, and that it can be offered to the public at so moderate a price, reflects credit upon the publisher as well as upon the distinguished author.

PATRICK W. SKEHAN

Catholic University of America

Aristide Briand und die Trennung von Kirche und Staat in Frankreich. VON WILHELM SCHURER. (Basel: Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft. 1939. Pp. xv, 138. Fr. 12.)

Aristide Briand was a politician, with the usual inconsistencies of a politician. He was a socialist, and he would like to have been the father of a new United States of Europe. Here he is the leading protagonist in a determined battle against the Church, Christianity, and all religion. Yet all the while he insisted that he was merely a freethinker who wanted liberty for all in a country freed from outworn privilege. He used his supreme powers of organization to bring about the separation of church and state in France. Conversely, the struggle for separation of church and state enhanced the political power and influence of Briand.

Rarely do we find so much factual data in readable form condensed into so brief a compass. The author was in the rather enviable position of a scholar who has sufficient available documents, just the right amount of secondary literature, and adequate means of interviewing friends and enemies of a man who died less than ten years ago. He tries to stand aloof from his subject, and on the whole he succeeds very well.

The value of the book lies not so much in any extraordinary new discovery as in its synthetic arrangement of very important known material. For this story of church and state goes more deeply into the most vital conflict of the modern world than its title seems to indicate. Conscience, morality, and religion were to be emancipated from Catholic control. The "lay" school was to be an instrument of "progress", and as such it must become a sort of counter-church. Divine truth and divine law were to be abolished, and man was to be taught to stand on his own feet and work out his destiny by drawing upon his own inner forces to win a place in society. On the surface there were different groups at work, but all had a common anti-religious purpose when marshalled for action by a clever leader. Throughout, the hand of Freemasonry betrays its presence. Not the least interesting part of the book is the rapid overview of the century leading up to the events of 1905.

RAYMOND CORRIGAN

St. Louis University

A Short History of Christianity. Written in collaboration by Archibald G. Baker, Editor, Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., John T. McNeill, Matthew Spinka, Wilfred E. Garrison and William W. Sweet. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1940. Pp. vii, 279. $2.00.)

Environmental Factors in Christian History. Edited by John Thomas McNeill, Matthew Spinka and Harold R. Willoughby. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. x, 417. $4.00.)

A Short History of Christianity endeavors to portray Christianity as a historical movement. Its authors are not, according to the editor, concerned with doctrinal and institutional forms, at least to the exclusion of the constantly recurring divisions in the Christian pattern. Again, they repudiate the theory that a thousand years of Christian history can aptly be termed the "great apostasy."

One of the characteristics of this lucid and competent summary is, accordingly, its irenic note. The orthodoxy of Nestorius is extolled at the expense of Cyril of Alexandria. Although the faults of the Irish are rehearsed, their unselfish devotion and intellectual capacities are also mentioned. In a valuable chapter, eastern Christianity is styled the third component part of the church ecumenical. Where missions are

discussed, there is a repeated appeal to fundamentalists and liberals to get together in the good cause. A final example of this irenic spirit may, perhaps, be seen in the transformation of the harsh and violent Patricius into the "kindly pagan father" of St. Augustine.

This outlook does not, however, prevent the book from being Protestant to the core. The writers have several heroes, but Luther and Calvin are the only names which appear in the headings of the thirty-two numbered sections into which the volume is divided. Leo and Gregory retain their secular titles of "the Great", but in company with all the saints they have been deprived of the prefix "St." The Catholic reformation is given scanty notice in a section which treats of Anabaptism, Socinianism, and other left-wing movements. In the sketch of Christianity in the United States, the development of the strongest branch (Roman Catholicism) is inadequately handled. In the account of South America, on the contrary, the Protestant contribution receives considerable space.

Since the authors are professors in the School of Divinity of the University of Chicago, this attitude was to be expected and no one has a right to find fault. But it raises the question of the value of the work as a study of a historical religious movement. Undoubtedly an effort is made to minimize differences between Catholics and Protestants. But the more important duty of supporting the protest of Speyer causes the writers to introduce the main arguments in favor of Protestantism. Blame for the religious revolution of the sixteenth century is unobtrusively laid at the door of the Renaissance popes. Papal claims are formulated in theses which papal theologians would be obliged to distinguish and sub-distinguish, if not deny. A few unjustifiable generalizations (*e. g.*, p. 88 f.) also appear. Contemporary Protestants, it seems, can no more unify their thought on Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, than can, unfortunately, Catholics.

Errors of fact and ambiguous statements are few. But why should the creed of Nicaea be termed the "so-called Nicene Creed"? The spread of witchcraft in the west at the end of the Middle Ages and in the early modern period was not a "fresh revival". Finally, the statement that the Christian community in China did not exceed one hundred thousand in 1900 is probably some kind of oversight. There is an index.

Environmental Factors in Christian History is a testimonial volume prepared in honor of Shirley Jackson Case who reorganised the Department of Church History at the University of Chicago and co-ordinated divinity instruction with new trends in university education. The book contains more than a score of contributions which fit in more or less with the title. A complete bibliography of Dean Case's writings and an index have been added.

All but one of the authors of *A Short History* are also represented in this volume. Nor are their essays the only valuable ones included. Naturally, however, the work is not of uniform quality. Some contributors, for

example, tend to substantiate their statements simply by quoting foreign authors. Again, the knowledge of Roman Catholicism of some writers appears to be fragmentary. On the whole, however, the book is an original and important contribution to church history and a fitting tribute to the distinguished historian whom it honors.

In a brilliant essay Professor Garrison assumes that Christian dogma denies humanistic doctrine. This may be true of the dogma which teaches that human nature was absolutely corrupted by original sin, but such pessimism was rejected at Trent and even in Calvin's Geneva, at least in practice. Whosoever thinks that sixteenth century Catholicism outlawed humanism should make the acquaintance of St. Philip Neri or St. Francis de Sales. "Even saints were not oblivious of the beauties of nature," Professor Garrison grants. He is, however, bothered by the fact that "Francis (of Assisi) loved wind and sun and the blue shadows on the hills, and birds and mice and men, not for what they were in their own right but because they were *creatures*." If he had consulted a Christian metaphysician, he might have learned that creatures are nothing in their own right and that in virtue of their creaturehood they hold whatever they have besides. Reflection on this abstract truth increases respect for the humanism of the saints.

EDWARD A. RYAN

Woodstock College

Christianity and Politics. By ALBERT HYMA. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1938. Pp. 331. $3.00.)

Since the beginning of the present century writers in the field of political theory have shown a greater appreciation of the contributions of the Middle Ages than had been shown in the three preceding centuries. The monumental and scholarly works of the Carlyles in England and of Otto von Gierke in Germany contributed to this appreciation and counteracted the utterly erroneous conception of the Middle Ages as a period lacking alike in intellectual activity and political contributions to our own day. As a consequence there have come from the pens of Catholic and non-Catholic scholars a veritable flood of literature on the political theories of the Middle Ages. So great in quantity and so convincing in subject matter have been these works, that some students of politics have taken alarm lest the results of the Protestant Revolt be undone and this modern scientific age be submerged in a recrudescence of a resurrected mediaevalism. While granting that much of this fear is based on honest motivation, a great deal is based on inherited prejudice, early conditioning, and emotional prejudice to all things by nature Catholic. These people do not wish to recognize that, as far as the English-speaking world is concerned, the religious revolution dropped as one vast curtain, completely obscuring

a civilization of inestimable value from the view of modern scholars. From that point of view if from no other the Protestant Revolt stands in history as a major tragedy. The present-day renewed interest in the Middle Ages has but partially compensated for that tragedy. Allowing for the overemphasis in some quarters upon every phase of mediaeval activity, we have only begun to recover for all men the riches of the ages of faith. The lack of interest in the importance of this movement is all too obvious among American political scientists, the larger number of whom would agree with one eminent among them when he said to the writer: "What has Thomas Aquinas to teach us of this modern age?"

While it would be quite unfair to accuse Professor Hyma of being among those who reject and disparage the great contributions of mediaeval times, yet by intention or otherwise his work places emphasis upon the contributions of the leaders of the Protestant Revolt, and undoubtedly constitutes a defense of those leaders against certain charges of inconsistency and partiality to absolutism in government made by many historians and students of politics. The importance of the theory of natural law, of limited kingship, of representative government, of personal liberty, find such scanty treatment as contributions of the pre-reform age that one feels that he is thrown back to the distinctly nineteenth century approach to the history of political theory. To the credit, however, of Professor Hyma it must be said that his work is lacking in a malevolent bias so characteristic of the productions of another day. His main fault is partially omission and partially lack of emphasis at the proper points in history.

Contrary to the belief held by most students of political theory today, Professor Hyma holds that Luther's political views were more important than those of Calvin. In general, Calvin would seem to take second place, for we note: "Calvin was, next to Luther, the outstanding thinker that Protestantism produced in the sixteenth century." Opposed to the picture of Luther given us by most Catholic and non-Catholic writers, Professor Hyma gives us a picture of a consistent, logical, and quite unemotional reformer. He attempts, also, to absolve Luther and Calvin from the charge of having preached passive and blind obedience to civil authorities. Yet there still remains the historical spectacle of Luther's dependance upon civil authority and his undoubted gratitude towards it; there remain too many statements of Calvin's, such as: "Wherefore, if we are cruelly vexed by an inhuman Prince or robbed and plundered by one prodigal or avaricious or despised and left without protection by one negligent . . . it is not for us to remedy these evils." Such statements cast doubt upon Professor Hyma's proposition.

Great credit is due the author, however, for his emphasis upon the importance of Christian truths in the field of political theory. One easily detects that the author, evidently a devout Protestant, is not of the

modern secularist school of political thought. Above all one is struck by the calm, scholarly style of the text which exhibits a commendable understanding of the Catholic position particularly in the liberalistic eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

JEROME G. KERWIN

University of Chicago

Congregationalism in the Dutch Netherlands. The Rise and Fall of the English Congregational Classis, 1621-1635. By RAYMOND PHINEAS STEARNS, University of Illinois. [Studies in Church History. Vol. IV.] (Chicago: American Society of Church History. 1940. Pp. viii, 151. $3.00.)

Although much neglected by historians outside the Low Countries, the religious difficulties of those communities from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century deserve the closest study. For the trend of schism there was quite different from that in Germany, England, or France. Enjoying a central geographical position in western Europe, leadership in commerce and industry and unquestioned ascendancy in naval and military matters, the Low Countries possessed a complex social life which contributed powerfully to produce a colorful and variegated religious life. Sacramentarianism, Anabaptism, strict and latitudinarian Calvinism, the Remonstrant movement, the Catholic Reform with the Jesuit Peter Canisius as the prominent figure, indeed present a curiously confused picture. A bourgeois community drawing its sustenance mainly from industry and commerce and following the policy of William of Orange, the United Provinces adopted a broadly tolerant attitude to all manner of dissenters and even to Jews, and became a haven of refuge for the persecuted from many quarters as, *e. g.*, dissenting Protestants opposed to the Anglican settlement, English Catholics, Walloons, and Huguenots. Although much of their history has been investigated by scholars in and outside the Netherlands many a topic still needs additional clarification. Much undoubtedly remains hidden under masses of documents in the archives. The present welcome contribution by Professor Stearns throws a peculiarly clear light upon the Congregational Classis—the very first Congregational organization of this kind ever to be effected—whose existence from 1621 to 1635 was almost unknown, having escaped the attention of such prominent scholars as Moll, Acquoy, Reitsma, Pijper, Plooij, Knappert, Van Schelven, and Eekhof.

It is well known that for centuries the Low Countries—northern as well as southern—had intimate relations with England. At the opening of the sixteenth century there were, for example, the Merchant Adventurers and the Hanseatic League which had branches in England as well as in the Low Countries. The war for independence from Spain caused

Netherlanders to draw close to England and brought English and Scottish garrisons into Netherlandish towns. Many of these soldiers had Puritan sympathies and hence were hostile to the Anglican establishment. Among them were Brownists, Barrowists, and Presbyterians; and some others conformed to the Netherlands Reformed Church. But insisting upon a congregational policy, some of them in 1621 established a congregational "classis" with the approval of the Netherlands Reformed Church. A few of the garrison chaplains joined the movement, and soon Congregational churches were established in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Delft, Arnhem, Gorinchem, Bergen-op-Zoom, Nijmegen, Heusden, and Flushing (Vlissingen). The history of the classis was not wholly a happy one, being disturbed by bickerings, especially in Delft, and troubled by diplomatic pressure exerted by the English minister, Sir William Boswell. As a result, many ministers and some laymen migrated to New England where they found refuge among friends and relatives who had arrived directly from England.

Professor Stearns' book is provided with twenty documents in an appendix, the general history of the classis being recounted in five introductory chapters. The work is well done and must be regarded as a valuable addition to our knowledge of an important but none too well understood theme. The problem of the spelling of Dutch proper names is a perplexing one. Whatever the vagaries of former writers may have been, it hardly seems proper to write *Middelburgh* for *Middelburg*, *Gittrodenberge* for *Geertruidenberg*, *Arnheim* for *Arnhem*, and *Doesborough* for *Doesburg*. *Zulicum* should be *Zülichem* (pp. 44, 78). These criticisms, however, in no way detract from the excellence of this study.

HENRY S. LUCAS

University of Washington

Church and State in Russia—The Last Years of the Empire, 1900-1917. By JOHN SHELTON CURTISS. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 442. $4.00.)

In these totalitarian days when in many parts of the world the mythical state is glorified as the Supreme Being, it is worth studying the relationship of church and state in the past in order to detect the methods by which the religious life of a people can be subjected to the utilitarianism of the state. Dr. Curtiss has wisely chosen to examine the relationship between church and state in Russia, since it presents many features common to such relationship in other lands; for instance, the Lutheran church in imperial Germany or the Church of England.

The book contains nine chapters, of which the first is a bird's-eye view of the history of the Russian church covering one thousand years in thirty pages, a bibliography and an index. Unfortunately Dr. Curtiss

has insolated his subject to such an extent that he scoffs at many phases of Russian church history as if they were something unique, whereas they are common manifestations in almost every established church that is not free from lay control. In this respect he points to the catechism adopted in 1895 for the use in parochial and public schools which prescribed the observance of loyalty to the tsar who was to be honored as the father of the whole people. "Here, obviously, was instruction of a type suitable to be of great service to the government of Russia" (p. 187), comments Dr. Curtiss naively, not taking into consideration that with rare exceptions all established religions recommend respect, honor, and loyalty to the established government, regardless of whether the government controls the church or merely acts as a protector of guaranteed rights.

In the same line of misplaced judgment Mr. Curtiss criticizes the Russian clergy and hierarchy for "celebrating glorious days of the nation's past" such as the anniversaries of the battle of Poltava when the invading Swedes were beaten by Peter the Great, and the defeat of the French in 1812, or the tercentenary of the House of Romanov (pp. 343-345). One is tempted to ask whether the author has ever attended any church service on the Fourth of July or on Armistice Day in this country where the church is free from government control. Furthermore, he makes a great case of the supposed enormous wealth of certain Russian hierarchs, "men sworn to lead simple and celibate lives" (p. 89), although he admits that his facts are scanty, based actually on a statement unsupported by evidence in a book of radical authorship. It is true that certain metropolitan sees in Russia had a considerable income, like similar offices in other established churches, but it is not true that the Russian hierarchy spent these incomes on themselves.

There is very little understanding on the part of Dr. Curtiss of the actual conditions in the Russian church. He finds the reason for the lack of prestige and leadership among the village priests in the fact that "they were not of peasant origin, but were almost always the sons of priests" (p. 82), implying that there was an insurpassable chasm of class difference. Actually the lack of prestige and leadership is accountable by the fact that the village priest was too much of a peasant himself, deficient particularly in education and often in decent means of existence. Even at that, it is remarkable that many of these simple souls performed a laudable task in guiding their flocks according to the law of God. But Mr. Curtiss finds fault with the action of many priests who during the revolutionary period of 1905 endeavored, often at the risk of their own lives, to maintain peace and order. To him these actions proved only that the priests were tools of the government and not friends of the people. At this juncture, it is fair to surmise that the author is traditionally and blindly opposed to the Russian imperial regime and therefore can find praise only for those churchmen who in their time were likewise opposed to that regime.

It is with such lack not only of impartiality but also of common decency that Dr. Curtiss paints the sordid picture of "The Sway of Rasputin". To explain Rasputin's influence at the court he states: "Their Imperial Majesties were eager for mystical religious experiences, and had patronized in turn the French spiritualist, Philippe Papus, a sort of astrologer, and the half-insane mute Mitia, a peasant from Kaluga" (p. 367). Dr. Curtiss seems to forget entirely that "Their Imperial Majesties" had a son suffering from hemophilia, a disease which science was helpless to cure, and that they were seeking in mystical fields a way not only to save their son's life but also to alleviate his unbearable suffering. But the acme of poor taste is displayed when the author describes how during the Easter night service in 1916 Rasputin kissed the empress on the forehead while she kissed his hand. And he solemnly proclaims: "There is no reason to think that this was a guilty kiss" (p. 396). Dr. Curtiss does not know, apparently, that kissing each other during Easter night service, regardless of sex or class or social position, has been a time honored custom in Russia.

Last but not least the reliance on some sources, such as the memoirs of Paleologue, without verification of its statements, and the ignorance of some sources, as in the case of the program of the People's Socialist Party which, according to Dr. Curtiss, is not available, whereas it can be found in three distinct publications—i. e., V. Ivanovich: *Rossiyskia partii, soiuzy, i ligi* (Russian Parties, Societies, and Leagues, St. Petersburg, 1906); V. V. Vodovozov: *Sbornik programm politicheskikh partiy v rossii* (Collection of Programs of Political Parties in Russia, St. Petersburg, 1906); and A. V. Pieshekhonov: *Trudovaia (Narodno-Sotsialisticheskaia) Partia* in Brokhaus i Efron: *Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar* (Encyclopedia of Brockhaus and Efron), XXVII, 945-946 — reveals a deficiency in historical scholarship. It is a pity that such an important and worthy subject as the study of relationship between church and state in Russia has found such poor rendition as in this book, which has all the outer paraphernalia of scholarship, but is lacking in broad understanding, impartial judgment and good taste.

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

University of Maryland

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Historical Records and Studies. Volume XXXI. Edited by THOMAS F. MEEHAN. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1940. Pp. 174. $3.00.)

The articles in the present volume of the *Historical Records and Studies* furnish some interesting additional information concerning the social and cultural history of the Catholic Church in the United States, especially during the formative period.

The first and lengthiest article in this volume, "Some Non-Permanent Foundations of Religious Orders and Congregations of Women in the United States (1793-1850)," adds a chapter to the history of the contributions of religious women to education in the early days. Sister Mary Christine, S.U.S.C. has brought together the attempts, unsuccessful insofar as permanency is concerned, of those orders of women who planned foundations in this country and who for one reason or another were not to see the fruition of their planting. The writer of the monograph states that:

> Lest those religious women whose foundations were not permanent might be forgotten, the present work was undertaken with the object of bringing together the scattered fragments of their history and of weaving them into a complete pattern.

As she points out, all of these religious women, with the possible exception of the Trappistines (1812-1815) in New York, were engaged in education. Moreover, it is noteworthy that, although these experiments were of short duration, yet they represent the beginnings of education by religious women in New England, Maryland, the District of Columbia, western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, the Northwest Territory and Oregon. The article is well documented. Nineteen pages of footnotes and four pages of bibliographical material furnish a valuable appendix. Doubtless it is a matter of taste, but this reviewer prefers footnotes on each page of the article in juxtaposition to the material documented. As the writer indicates, further investigation and research will bring to light more valuable material regarding this hitherto little known phase of American religious and educational history.

In the second article entitled, "Four Women Lay Apostles of the Old Northwest," Sister Mary Rosalita, I.H.M. has presented a picture of early Catholic education in the Old Northwest. Her theme is the four laywomen who carried on the work of education in the Old Northwest, but the story necessarily becomes an appreciation of the achievements of the "Founder and Apostle of Education in Michigan", Father Gabriel Richard. In the course of the article we find these achievements included: (1) the collection of a professional library on the theory, history, and methods of education; (2) the training of teachers in subject matter and instructional procedure; (3) the plans for a Catholic board of education to be known as the "Society of Catholic Schools in the Territory of Michigan"; (4) the project for the foundation of a religious community of women to carry on the work of education; (5) the establishment of a vocational training school for Indian boys and girls; (6) the setting up of a printing press and the production of textbooks.

Other interesting "firsts" in the volume are "First Catholic Monthly Magazines" by Thomas F. Meehan and "Pioneer Catholic Universities" by Reverend Laurence J. Kenny, S.J. The story of the Catholic periodicals

offers a cross section of the growth of the Church. In Maryland in 1830, *The Metropolitan* was published by Peter Blenkinsop and edited by the Reverend Dr. Charles Constantine Pise, but lasted for a year only. In the following decade appeared the *United States Catholic Magazine*, published by John Murphy and edited by the Reverend Charles White and the Very Reverend M. J. Spalding, but this too had a brief existence. It revived as a second *Metropolitan* under several successive editors: Dr. White, J. V. Huntington, and M. J. Kearney, but ceased publication in 1858. In Bardstown, the faculty of St. Joseph's College began the publication of a monthly, the *Minerva*, in 1834. This under the leadership of the Reverend C. H. de Luynes lasted for a year only. The *Quarterly Review* of Orestes Brownson began in Boston in 1844, moved to New York in 1855, and ceased publication in 1865. The story of the first Catholic monthlies ends with an account of the early vicissitudes of the *Catholic World* with a brief account of its various editors. Although the paper deals with the monthly publications, we have an occasional mention of some of the weeklies as the *Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel of Boston*, 1829-1834; the *Pilot* of the same city founded by Patrick Donahoe, 1826; the *Catholic Advocate* of Bardstown, 1835; the *Leader* of St. Louis, 1855; *The Freeman's Journal*, 1840.

The article on "Pioneer Catholic Universities", revives the controversy as to whether St. Louis University or Georgetown was the first Catholic university in the United States. From the evidence presented the decision must be in favor of Georgetown. The unique feature is the strange story of the lost School of Medicine of St. Louis University and its rediscovery.

Of the two other items by the editor, that captioned "Pius IX and the Confederacy", contains this comment: "When the Benjamin document mentions that 'a commissioner should be sent to reside at the court of the Vatican', it has a curious interest in its anticipation by seventy-odd years, of the action of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in sending Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative to the court of Pope Pius XII." "A Dutch Irish Pact of 1680" throws some light on the Irish in New Amsterdam and in early New York.

The contributors to this volume of the *Historical Records and Studies* being conscientious scientific historians, had no purpose other than that of presenting documented facts objectively. Is it a co-incidence that a unifying theme seems to tie these articles together? Perhaps those who made these beginnings in Catholic education and journalism were comforted at the time by those words of St. Paul: "According to the grace of God that is given to me as a wise architect I have laid the foundation and another has builded thereon".

SISTER MARY CELESTE

Saint Xavier College
Chicago

The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834. By THOMAS T. MCAVOY, C.S.C., Ph.D. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. 226. $2.25.)

An adequate account of the story of the Church in Indiana from 1789-1834 has been a long felt need. All students who have experienced this need have reason to be grateful to Dr. McAvoy for the able study which he presents of the subject in his book, *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834.* By the completion of this excellent study, he has successfully bridged the *lacuna* that has long existed in the story of the Church in Indiana.

A priest of the Congregation of Holy Cross, Dr. McAvoy has effectively marshalled the facts revealed by the manuscript sources open to him as archivist of the University of Notre Dame; he has, furthermore, nicely supplemented that story with the material from other well-known collections and secondary works, and he has withal woven together a very readable narrative of the Church's work in Indiana at that early period of its history.

The study by Father McAvoy depicts the story of the Catholic Church in Indiana in transition from the days of the French missions to the time of the organized diocese under Bishop Bruté. The book relates the story of a section of the middle west. The contribution of the French settlers and of the French clergy is nicely appraised, while the hitherto missing but important link in the story of the early Catholic activities in the Wabash and Saint Joseph Valleys is furnished. Light is focused upon the sad plight of the neglected—and may it be said, neglectful—French settlers. Addressed primarily to American church historians, the study will appeal to all interested in the formative influences of early Indiana. Catholics will take pride in the fact that the Church was no small influence in that primitive day of Indiana history.

The following chapter headings will indicate to prospective readers some of the information which will repay their careful perusal: 1) Vincennes at the End of the Quebec Rule; 2) Carroll takes up the Rule of the West; 3) Jean François Rivet; 4) Neglected Vincennes; 5) Bishop DuBourg Sends Aid; 6) Champomier and Badin—Builders; 7) the Appointment of a Bishop; and 8) Bruté Finds His Flock.

A complete six-page index is a valuable aid to the reader of this book, whose format is further commendation of its substantial content. And last but not least, the scholar will note with interest the three-page list of manuscript sources.

FINTAN G. WALKER

St. Patrick's Rectory
Terre Haute

Gallitzin's Letters. Edited by GRACE MURPHY. (Loretto, Pennsylvania: Engelmodde Press. 1940. Pp. 302. $3.00.)

The present volume contains a collection of the polemical works of Gallitzin. It was issued to commemorate the centenary of the death of one of the most fascinating and romantic characters of our frontier history. Few of our pioneer priests had adequate time for study, research, and writing. All their energy and interests were absorbed in the manifold missionary duties that crowded their lives. It is therefore difficult for us to understand how Gallitzin could find the time or energy to write, crowded as his life was with so many spiritual as well as material duties. Despite these handicaps, however, he could find time occasionally to take up his pen in defense of the Church. His writings are considered some of the best apologetic literature in America up to that time, and friendly critics have seen the touch of Bossuet in his polemics.

In all of Gallitzin's works his profound knowledge and the facility he acquired in the use of the English language are evident. His grasp of history and the sacred Scriptures, as well as the constant use he made of quotations from Catholic and non-Catholic sources, is truly remarkable. The work of his pen gives evidence of the thorough training he had received in his youth, since in it he constantly reveals his familiarity with the best literature of his time. The controversial writings of Gallitzin had a wide circulation and the number of converts they made can never be ascertained. His *Defence of Catholic Principles*, especially, enjoyed a wide appeal. It was translated into German and French, and widely distributed in England, Ireland, France, and Germany, as well as all over the United States. It was said by American bishops and priests of his time, who had ample opportunities for judging, that they knew of no other book of its kind which made so many converts.

The editor must be highly commended for her labor of love in gathering and publishing these letters. The volume may well be recommended to all those interested in the polemical literature of the Church in this country.

MARK J. LINENBERGER

St. Fidelis Seminary
Herman, Pennsylvania

Life and Works of Prince Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin. By PETER HENRY LEMCKE, O.S.B. Translated by Joseph C. Plumpe. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1940. Pp. xxi, 257. $2.50.)

The centenary last year of the death of Prince Gallitzin has focused attention upon one of the most interesting and important figures in American Catholic history. Fortunately it has also been the occasion of the publication of this arresting account which for too long has been

inaccessible to the average reader. Written originally in German, and for half a century exceedingly rare, now it has been turned into English, and this most intelligently. First of all, the translator, Father Plumpe, resisted the temptation to rearrange the book's chronology, to strike out repetitious passages, and to make further changes. His purpose was "to give back Lemcke's *Leben und Wirken des Prinzen Demetrius Augustin Gallitzin* untouched, beginning with the title page." This he has done admirably. As a result we have a contemporary account of Gallitzin written by one who had known and worked with him, one who tells something of Gallitzin not to be found elsewhere. Secondly, it also reveals one of Gallitzin's worthy disciples who shared his views and found in the work of his master a corroboration of his own endeavors. In fact much of the author's dynamic personality, so much in evidence in the original, is preserved by Father Plumpe in his translation.

The importance of the original Lemcke volume was not lost upon Sarah M. Brownson nor upon Baroness von Hügel who drew upon it for their own biographies of Gallitzin. But by comparing Lemcke with these better-known works one realizes that the latter contain omissions and paraphrases which affect a just and final appraisal of certain characters. This is not surprising since so much primary material disappeared with Father Lemcke. Hence the historian must go to his biography of Gallitzin for a true if not a full account of the subject.

The story of Demetrius Gallitzin is already well known to the average student of American history. Born in The Hague of noble parentage and raised in a home where the social and intellectual élite of Europe were frequent visitors, he became a Catholic and while on a visit to America decided to offer himself to Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore for the priesthood. He was educated at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and after ordination did missionary work in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Eventually he founded the Catholic colony at Loretto, and has come down to posterity as the "Apostle of the Alleghenies." He died at Loretto on May 6, 1840, revered as a saint by those whom he had brought into the mountains for their material and spiritual welfare. This work draws a vital portrait of this man and the condition, social and religious, under which he labored as a missionary. It has an interesting portrait, as a frontispiece of the first meeting of Father Lemcke and Father Gallitzin in 1834 between Munster and Loretto, a table of contents, a bibliography, and an index.

JOSEPH B. CODE

Catholic University of America

The German Church on the American Frontier. A Study of the Rise of Religion among the Germans of the West. Based on the History of the Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens, 1840-1866. By CARL E. SCHNEIDER. (St. Louis: Eden Publishing House. 1939. Pp. xx, 579. $3.50.)

Professor Schneider has written an account of a definite phenomenon in American cultural history in his story of the impact between this German immigrant church and the Missouri frontier. He has made an exhaustive examination of printed and unprinted sources, so much of which is in the German language, and has equipped his study with critical footnotes, appendices, and a valuable index. Not only has he compiled valuable data, but his sympathy with the struggling pioneers enabled him to enter psychologically into their frontier problems in a way that is invaluable to the cultural historian. One cannot say that this is thrilling history, but to the historian who is intelligently interested in the formation of American cultural ideals the reactions between the German Protestant group and the frontier conditions are very important. Interesting, also, were the paths followed in the organization of a church government over these independent religious bodies.

Certain of Professor Schneider's presuppositions may not be acceptable to all historians. Although there was similar change in religious notions going on in certain groups in Germany, there is ground for doubting that the pioneers were really aware of any progression or development in their own religious thought. Few of these pioneers would have subscribed to the notion that: "Ecclesiastical organizations, creedal systems, and dogmatic structures are the product of human reflection and are conditioned by the *mores* of the times and the aesthetic and cultural *milieu* of a people." The actual development of religious thought among these pioneers was conditioned by their rejection of authoritative religion and their dependence on their scriptural guide without a definite plan.

Despite the author's deep researches, his story remains somewhat in a vacuum. We do not really know the people of whom he speaks, except that they came from certain parts of Germany. Their numbers, their wealth, their relative importance in the communities in which they lived are undoubtedly known to the author but not exposed to the reader. Further, while he makes a clear distinction between the theological knowledge of the ministers and the people, he does not tell us how much of the learning of the ministers was shared by the common people.

There are certain questions which arise from the perusal of this type of study, questions for which the author has not given the answers. Since Professor Schneider has brought out the common elements between the German evangelical groups and the American evangelicals, it seems a proper conclusion that the distinctive element was purely nationalistic.

Further, the praise he gives to the German people can be predicated of practically any national group if one grants the differences of location and means. When this nationalistic and evangelical mind faced the frontier, its developments were determined either by the frontier conditions or by its cultural inheritance. The frontier evidently lowered the cultural content of their traditions, although the author does not indicate that they developed the practical-mindedness of the Yankee. More important, then, in the development of these religious institutions were the cultural affinities induced by a common language, common European origin, and common Protestantism. The language was destined to disappear in this country, and their common origin was of decreasing influence. Thus the quality that was most permanent was the common Protestantism of the evangelical type which has enabled these immigrants to be accepted into the majority group. Their synodal organization found friends in American Presbyterianism and their opposition to authoritarianism made them sympathetic to the anti-popery of the times. Thus, it can be said that the chief factor in the development of the later organization was the inherited culture and religious teaching, and that the frontier was merely the precipitant that dissolved the attendant circumstances of language and governmental interference and support of the old country.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

Louis Florent Gillet: His Life, Letters and Conferences. By SISTER MARIA ALMA, C.I.M. (Philadelphia: Dolphin Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 278. $2.50.)

Louis Florent Gillet, His Life, Letters and Conferences is a timely biography of the Redemptorist, later Cistercian, priest who in 1845 founded the religious congregation known today as the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. We read here the story of an adventurer for Christ, a pioneer in this country at a time when a missionary's side line of activity consisted in starting things: parishes, mission-stations, churches, schools—and sometimes religious communities, with rule and personnel especially adapted to the work of new and scattered settlements. We follow him as he helps to establish new monasteries in France and Belgium, and as he accompanies the first band sent to Savoy to take over one that force of circumstances had obliged the former administrators to abandon.

An intriguing story it is, and what probably will interest American readers most is the amazing account of his establishing so important an institution as a religious community, to which the founder, from the very nature of things, is more closely bound, perhaps, than would be

the case in any other enterprise, and then his losing it so completely that, in spite of all effort on his part and that of the Sisters, it was not until after forty-five years had elapsed, during which time the community had grown rapidly in numbers and influence and he had become an old man of seventy-nine, that a train of circumstances, culminating in an unexpected and seemingly trivial incident (pp. 105-109) discovered them to each other. The whole reads like a mystery—a mystery of a beneficent Providence.

The historical background in Belgium, the United States, France, and Italy, incidental to the biography, but necessary to an understanding of it, is adequately sketched by the author and by Father Louis himself in his letters to the Sisters. These letters (1891, 1892) and the few conferences (pp. 121-165) that have been preserved from among those that he had given as sub-prior and as master of novices in his monastery, constitute an interesting and valuable section of the book. In them we find reflected humility, deep insight into things spiritual, familiarity with ascetical writers, practical holiness, and quiet humor; and in the letters, a paternal love of his "daughters in Christ" and an almost exultant joy in his recovery of them and in the knowledge that the seed planted by him had produced such abundant fruit.

The reader will appreciate both appendices and find the index sufficiently complete, while the bibliography of manuscript and printed sources gives evidence of long and painstaking effort to produce what is unquestionably a fine literary memorial of an intrepid pioneer and a saintly recluse.

SISTER MARY EVANGELA

Clarke College

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Histoire de l'inquisition au moyen âge. Tome II: *L'inquisition au xiii siècle en France, en Espagne et en Italie.* By JEAN GUIRAUD. (Paris: Editions Auguste Picard. 1938. Pp. viii, 600. Fr. 95.)

This second volume of Guiraud's history of the mediaeval Inquisition contains twenty-one chapters, of which eleven deal with Southern France, one with Northern France, one with Spain, and eight with Italy. The first volume was devoted to the rise of the heresies, their teachings, and the condition of the Church in the twelfth century. In the second volume M. Guiraud comes to the Inquisition and its organization in the thirteenth century. He describes it along side of the crusade in Southern France and the preaching of the Mendicants. Against it he balances the account of heresy in that century, its methods of propaganda, and its recourse to political aid. There is in the volume far more about heretics than about the Inquisition, its procedure, and penalties.

The author is content to tell his story from the sources and pays little attention to modern works on the Inquisition. He has selected from the sources, which he knows so well, a wealth of revealing episodes and anecdotes. The reader is apt to be overwhelmed by the mass of detail. He would have been greatly aided by some generalization which M. Guiraud might have introduced at the end of his chapters. Even the conclusion of the volume amounts to barely a page.

The usefulness of the work is greatly decreased, for the time being, by the fact that the individual volumes have no index. Had he compiled one, the author might have noted slight repetitions, *e.g.*, II, 134 and 221; 143 and 223. It is imperative that the last volume be equipped with a carefully constructed index. Several good maps might be substituted for the less necessary plates, since the maps in the first volume are hardly adequate.

We should be thankful to the publishing house of Picard for works like this, but it must be observed that the volume contains an unpardonable number of typographical errors. It is difficult to see how this monumental work can be brought to a satisfactory conclusion in only one more volume. Perhaps we can look forward to two.

ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER

Catholic University of America

Two Lives of St. Cuthbert. By BERTRAM COLGRAVE. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xiii, 375. $5.50.)

Not the least interesting thing about St. Cuthbert is that he combined Anglo-Saxon blood with Celtic temperament, training, and religious outlook. The seventh century controversies between the Roman and Celtic traditions over certain customs were formally ended at the Synod of Whitby and Cuthbert adopted the Roman Easter; but in type of piety he remained Celtic until his death in an island hermitage. He was one of the most attractive and most popular saints of the north of England; he soon became a patron saint for the Northumbrians, and his shrine in Durham cathedral remained a favorite center of pilgrimage until its destruction in the sixteenth century. Our knowledge of St. Cuthbert's life comes primarily from an unknown monk of Lindisfarne who wrote a *vita* about the year 700; this was used by St. Bede who, besides several chapters in his *Ecclesiastical History*, wrote two separate biographies, one in verse and one in prose. A critical edition of the *Metrical Life* appeared six years ago in Germany; and now this volume gives us a modern text of the rest of the sources by editing the *Anonymous Life* and Bede's *Prose Life*.

Mr. Colgrave is on the faculty of the University of Durham, and some years ago published an edition of Eddius' *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*. In the

present book his first aim has been to produce a scientific text which will meet the needs of scholars. The introduction describes and classifies all the available manuscripts, and discusses authenticity, dating, and earlier editions, and the text is supplied with a full critical apparatus. Professor Laistner has recently questioned whether the editor chose the best group of manuscripts to make the basis of his text of Bede's *Prose Life* (*American Historical Review*, Jan. 1941, 379-381); but even if this objection is justified the special readings of the manuscripts preferred by Laistner are given as variants in the footnotes.

But at the same time Mr. Colgrave has aimed to meet the needs of a larger circle of students. Both in the introduction and in the fifty pages of explanatory notes at the back of the book he has given much information which will be helpful to those who are not specialists; while most helpful of all in these days when only a handful would attempt to read a hundred and twenty pages of Latin—and the *Anonymous Life* is not always easy —is a good English translation which faces the Latin text page by page.

CARLETON M. SAGE

Catholic University of America

The Medieval Papacy in Action. By MARSHALL W. BALDWIN, Assistant Professor of History. New York University. [Christendom Series]. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xiii, 113. $1.00.)

In the three chapters of this illuminating book are co-ordinated and brought into focus two decisive centuries of papal activity in the domain of ecclesiastical administration. Taking that period of the Middle Ages which runs from the accession of Pope Leo IX in 1049 to the death of Innocent IV in 1254, Professor Baldwin has interpreted with deep understanding and described with admirable lucidity the mighty effort of the mediaeval pontiffs to shake the Church free from the stranglehold of feudal domination and to reform its ranks by centralizing its authority, organizing the bureaus of its government, and reviving and codifying the laws of its discipline.

Having described the organs of papal administration, the author then proceeds to set forth the action of the popes in the religious sphere proper wherein they strove to preserve the faith from corruption of heresy and propagate it in new mission fields, and to maintain the unity of Christendom against the Greek schismatics and the Moslems.

Every reader of history must be grateful to Professor Baldwin for his second chapter dealing with "The Organization of the Papal Monarchy". Here is analyzed the administrative machinery of the Church's central government: the Roman curia with its chancery, treasury or camera, and other bureaus in that stage of their formation from which they will emerge as the clearly distinct and full-grown congregations and tribunals of the

sixteenth century. That Professor Baldwin is fully abreast of modern research on these subjects we are assured by his reference to the works of such reliable scholars as Geoffrey Barraclough, R. L. Poole, W. E. Lunt, A. H. Thompson, not to mention others.

For those readers who are nurtured on the history manuals that still judge the nature and function of the papacy by the same purely human criteria and motives which they apply to secular rulers, Professor Baldwin's third chapter pointing out the ultimate goal of the Church, and therefore of the papacy, to be that of "bringing each human soul daily nearer to Christ", ought to serve as a needed corrective, giving as it does the true key for understanding the papacy as it understood itself. We shall not over-praise this small volume if we say that it ought to be a *vade mecum* to every student of mediaeval history.

DEMETRIUS B. ZEMA

Fordham University

MODERN HISTORY

Le Pape Borgia. Alexandre VI. By ORESTES FERRARA. Tr. by Francis de Miomandre. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1939. Pp. 406.)

The Borgia Pope: Alexander VI. By ORESTES FERRARA. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1940. Pp. 455. $3.50.)

Here we have the latest, and an important, biography of Pope Alexander VI in two admirable translations. The English version abridges the contents of the Spanish original somewhat and transposes that portion of Chapter X, dealing with "other supposed children of Alexander VI" to an appendix; but none of the substance is lost thereby.

The work itself is a well-documented and balanced study to which the author, a distinguished Latin American diplomat and, we may add, a freethinker, combines the critical acumen of a lawyer, the mature judgment of a statesman and the skill of an experienced pen. From Ferrara's researches not only does the Borgia pope's own personality emerge in clear-cut outline, but we see him also integrally related to the world of men and politics around him, and we gain by that integration many illuminating glimpses into the realities and personalities that made the history of Italy and the papacy at the turn of the fifteenth century. Though in the nature of an apology, the biography before us is a dispassionate one, obviously prompted by a motive to do justice to a great historical figure who, all must in fairness admit, has been tarred with a blacker brush then he merits.

Before the appearance of Ferrara's book, the last serious attempt to clear Alexander's bad name had been made by Monsignor Peter de Roo, who in *Materials for a History of Alexander VI* seventeen years ago filled

five volumes with documents chiefly drawn from the Vatican Archives and interpreted in defense of the Borgia pope (Bruges: Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie.; New York: Universal Knowledge Foundation. 1924.) That prelate succeeded, indeed, in reinforcing all the facts previously put forward by l'Épinois, von Pastor and others, to show forth his hero as a man of high intelligence, a strong ruler of the Church and a champion of Christendom against the Turks; and Ferrara fully confirms this creditable phase of Borgia's life with more objectivity and criticism than de Roo. But de Roo still left open the question: why should Rodrigo Borgia have provoked the hatred of so many foes, and why should all their rancor have been concentrated on his head and not on that of any other of the popes that came immediately before and after him? To this, Ferrara's very first chapter gives what seems to us a convincing reply. Alexander's determination to safeguard the independence of the Church's territories cut across the ambitious schemes of the Italian and foreign princes who found the Spanish pope too clever for their intrigues. For that, they bore him a lasting grudge and gave free currency to the lampoons and back-stair gossip of chroniclers and diplomats in Renaissance circles that held truth so cheap. Thus did the legend of bribery, assassinations, poisonings and other unspeakable villanies, grow and become embalmed into a permanent literary tradition.

As for the scandals of Alexander's private life, his mistresses and children, which de Roo too easily brushed aside as malicious fictions, Ferrara does not hold the pope's conduct entirely free from stigma. Nevertheless he does go to great pains in order to show that in view of the generally hostile and contradictory character of the sources, one must abandon the traditional credence in Alexander's paternity for the children ascribed to him. The real and legitimate father of Giovanni, Cesare, Lucrezia, and Gioffre Borgia, Ferrara makes out to have been Guillen Ramon Llanzol, grandee of Spain and first duke of Gandia. For the identity of this personage, however, Ferrara relies on de Roo, and de Roo, in his turn, on no more evidence than the book of a German genealogist, Imhof, published in Leipzig in 1712.

Yet, when all is said on this matter, a question still remains that calls for an answer not furnished either by de Roo or Ferrara: if Rodrigo Borgia was not the father of the alleged offspring, why did not a single one among the forty contemporary writers listed by de Roo (Vol. V, pp. 300 ff.), or some friend, reveal to us the true parentage of the children actually ascribed to Alexander? It seems that the argument from silence should find full application here.

Furthermore, there are three relevant documents of unquestioned authority which seem to have escaped the notice of both de Roo and Ferrara, and which definitely pin the parentage of at least two children on Alexander VI. The first, is a brief of Pope Paul III, dated January 23,

1547, assigning to a son of St. Francis Borgia the property of a "quidam Joannes de Borgia . . . Alexandro papa VI praedecessore nostro, Romae, genitus et soluta", who had died intestate two months previous; while in the same brief, Francis Borgia himself is referred to as a great-grandson (*abnepotem*) of Alexander VI. The second, is also a brief of Pope Pius IV, given on September 28, 1561, confirming Paul III's grant and repeating the data of its contents. The third, finally, is in the form of a letter written by Father John Polanco, St. Ignatius's secretary, to a Father Adriani in Antwerp, in order to give the truth about "multa incerta ex conjecturis variis" talked about Francis Borgia recently admitted into the Society of Jesus. In this letter, dated from Rome, December 14, 1550, it is stated, among other things, that Francis Borgia was planning to build a church and, in it, a tomb to receive the remains of his great-grandfather Alexander VI — "proavo suo . . . Alexandro sexto". (Cf. *Monumenta Historica Sociatatis Jesu*. Borgia. Vol. I, pp. 655, 661; and *Monumenta Ignatiana*. Series I, Vol. III, pp. 256 ff.). The testimony of these documents, therefore, leaves little doubt, that Alexander VI was the real father of Juan or Giovanni Borgia, Francis Borgia's grandfather, and also of another Giovanni, presumably the one known as the "infans Romanus" who died intestate; and we may be sure that both the popes Paul III and Pius IV, and John Polanco, were well placed to verify the facts and took care to do so, while Francis Borgia was also there to control the records. But let us repeat that Orestes Ferrara has presented to us a murch more authentic Alexander VI than we are accustomed to read about, for which the student of history is deeply indebted to the distingushed author.

DEMETRIUS B. ZEMA

Fordham University

The Second Empire. By OCTAVE AUBRY. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1940. Pp. 638. $5.00.)

A strange timeliness pervades this book, which recounts the public life of Napoleon III. It is, among other things, the story of a statesman who at a crucial moment in European history forsook Austria for Germany and thus helped to build the state which destroyed him and which today has beaten to the earth the country over which he ruled. A century earlier Pitt had made a similar mistake in abetting the rise of Prussia. In view of contemporary events, France and England might better have left both Italy and Germany to the enjoyment of their charming and particularistic *status quo*. M. Aubry gives unforgettable details of the all too European policies of the French emperor in an era of rampant nationalism.

Gifted as a novelist as well as an historian, the author strikes off important figures of the Second Empire with vivid art. One could not easily

forget, for example, the orthodox courage of Montalembert, the tragic stubbornness of Lamennais and the smooth intriguing of Bazaine. Through it all moves the emperor, benevolently despotic, by no means insensible to popular needs or civic betterment—but, with it all, a sadly confused man, whose power, born of a *coup d'état*, could never have more than the semblance of democratic sanction.

Catholic persons and causes receive fair treatment, though one could wish for a less conventional reference to the much misunderstood *Syllabus of Errors*. The brief allusion is in the tradition calculated to send shivers along the democratic spine and raise the gooseflesh on all liberal forearms. As to the emperor's official attitude toward the Church, first he favored it and then ignored its viewpoint. Last autumn Don Luigi Sturzo, writing in *People and Freedom*, compared the lot of Catholics in the early days of the Second Empire with their position in France today, where some fear to accept the favors of a philo-fascist government lest they thereby identify themselves with the regime. This conflict and this confusion are likewise implicit in the very readable pages of Octave Aubry's most recent work.

GEORGIANA P. MCENTEE

Hunter College

Across the Busy Years. By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Volumes I-II. 1939-1940. Pp. 450; xii, 474. $3.75 per volume.)

In the evening of life the great president of a renowned university gives us a record of his busy years—years crowded with study, teaching, lecturing, conferences, administration, and travel. During the almost eighty years of his life he "has enjoyed and is enjoying worldwide contacts and associations of the greatest possible charm and importance," numbering among his friends the most prominent persons of every nation and of every profession who have lived during the last half-century.

Volume I is concerned primarily with a description of the author's early life and education and with an account of the fourteen Republican conventions at which he was present, in most cases as a delegate. Though Dr. Butler has repeatedly been urged to make himself available for public office, he has, because of his devotion to the cause of education, consistently rejected even the most flattering proposals of his friends and associates. Nevertheless, his keen judgment, his remarkable foresight, and his uncanny knowledge of world affairs have always been at the service of his country; he has often left his own work in New York in answer to a call of the President or of a senate committee to appear in Washington for a discussion of important issues.

In Volume II the author describes his several visits to Europe and the extraordinary experiences and unique privileges which have been his in many countries. While in England in 1910, for example, he was invited by Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister, to appear before the Constitutional Conference to discuss for its members the United States bicameral system of government and other related questions.

One of the enduring interests of Dr. Butler's life has been the cause of international peace. To this end he has devoted much of his valuable time and much of his inexhaustible energy. He has always been an unofficial ambassador of goodwill promoting greater understanding among nations. In 1930 he had the opportunity of suggesting to Pope Pius XI that His Holiness endorse the Pact of Paris to bring it more effectively to the attention of the world. Indeed, Dr. Butler takes special pains to pay tribute to the unrelenting efforts of both Pius XI and Pius XII in the cause of peace. "The Church may be persecuted by despots," he writes, "but it can never be turned into an engine of war."

In view of the present chaotic state of European affairs the most interesting and most significant chapter is that in Volume II entitled "International Understanding". It is in this chapter that the author records a conversation with Mussolini on March 14, 1934, in which *Il Duce* made this remarkable statement: "There must be no more wars. Another war would not only ruin Italy, but it would destroy civilization." It is in this same chapter that Dr. Butler mentions the distinction that was accorded him on April 30, 1930, when he addressed the German reichstag on the theme that "the peace of the world cannot rest with permanence upon any theory of domination by force—whether that force be military or economic or racial or religious." It is in this chapter also that Dr. Butler includes the address he delivered at the laying of the cornerstone of the new library at the University of Louvain, an address in which he stated that the generous act of his fellow-countrymen in restoring the library of Louvain "is convincing evidence that America will never stand idly by while freedom is destroyed, while liberty is turned into slavery, or while the cannon and the flames of war carry destruction to the most splendid monuments of human aspiration and of human accomplishment." Does it not seem that these three prophecies are now being fulfilled?

The academic reader will be greatly disappointed to find that Dr. Butler's memoirs deal almost exclusively with what he himself would insist are but by-products of his work and secondary interests of his life. He tells the reader nothing of the incidents that led to his becoming president of Columbia and very little of his administration of that great institution for almost forty years. For such information we are referred to his annual reports to the trustees of Columbia University from 1902 to 1940. But once he has overlooked this omission, the reader gradually but surely acquires the conviction that Dr. Butler has had an unusual

share in shaping the destinies of his country and of the world, and that he has, in these two volumes, made a notable contribution to the history of the twentieth century.

GEORGE L. KANE

St. Francis Xavier University

HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY

Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast. By PETER MASTEN DUNNE, S.J., Ph.D. of the University of San Francisco. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 286. $3.00.)

This is the second in the projected series of volumes on the history of the Jesuits in western North America, started under the editorship of Professor Herbert E. Bolton. The first volume of the series was Father Jerome V. Jacobsen's *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain* (1938). It is unfortunate that Father Eugene Shiels' *Gonzalo de Tapia*, also prepared under Professor Bolton's direction, was published separately, for the present work takes up the story where Shiels left off, and the latter work would have fitted nicely into the series, which otherwise bears evidence that it will be a complete survey of the field chosen for portrayal. When concluded, if it continues its present high standards of scholarship, the series will represent a monumental contribution to the colonial history of North America.

The first five chapters of Father Dunne's volume review ground already broken by Jacobsen and Shiels. The author then plunges into a magnificent story hitherto buried in the original sources, primarily the Jesuit *Cartas Anuas*, and the *Triumphos* and *Crónica* of Father Pérez de Ribas, himself one of the leading figures in the story which Father Dunne so ably narrates.

Professor Dunne describes the purpose and character of the work in the following words: "The story of the old Franciscan missions of California . . . is well known; . . . It is not so widely known, however, that they were but the last link in a long chain of cultural and humanitarian foundations for the North American native, a chain the first link of which was forged by men who had begun their labors far south of the California frontier, two centuries before. The first permanent missionaries north of Culiacán on the west coast of North America were Jesuit Black Robes, and of these the two earliest pioneers were Gonzalo de Tapia and Martin Pérez. . . . The present work intends to tell the story of the Jesuit missionary undertaking, but only during the first four decades, from 1591 to 1632—which will suffice to show the western missions well on the way toward their march to San Francisco."

The period was one of remarkable accomplishment under the protective arm of the colorful frontier captain, Diego Martínez de Hurdaide,

"for thirty years ... the head and heart of the State and almost of the Church in Sinaloa, for his services to the missions are beyond exaggeration." During those thirty-odd years (1595-1626), the Jesuits advanced from the Sinaloa river to the Fuerte, from the Fuerte to the Mayo, and from there to the Yaqui, laying the foundations of Christian civilization over that vast coastal strip of northwestern Mexico.

Pagan Indians, primitive in culture, were gathered from the mountains into well organized communities where they became a part of a more ordered and broader social world, built on the principles of Christianity. The following comment of the author with regard to education could be applied to every aspect of the social, political, and economic life of the aborigines: "Thus, in the education of the rural Indian, what the Mexican government is trying to do today with such great difficulty was done successfully on a smaller scale by the Jesuits three hundred years ago." The work was enormous, and there were revolts and martyrdoms, but during the period the frontier of Spain and Christianity advanced hundreds of miles, the number of missionaries in the field grew from two to forty, and the baptized increased from ten to a hundred thousand. Tapia, Ribas, Méndez, Pascual, Martínez, Villalta, Villafañe, Velasco, etc.— "the author has brought forth from comparative obscurity a galaxy of notable pioneers, great figures in their time but neglected by modern historians ..."

The story may be followed closely with the aid of a very adequate map (p. 28). Father Dunne has fully mastered his sources, and with broad outlook has presented a study which will be of value not only to the student of Jesuit history and Spanish Indian policy and frontier administration, but also to the historical geographer, the ethnologist, the social historian, and the folklorist.

There are several minor inconsistencies in the Essay on Sources and the Bibliography; and the reference to Macaulay in the opening paragraph seems incongruous—virtually the same words were written earlier by Mendieta in his *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (III, 174-175).

J. Manuel Espinosa

Loyola University
Chicago

A History of Mexico. By Henry Bamford Parkes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.; Cambridge: At the University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 432. $3.75.)

The need of a complete history of Mexico to our own day has long been felt. Bancroft's history did yeoman service for years and Priestley's work has been the standard one-volume text. But it has long needed revision. The author of the new history has, therefore, attempted to cover the whole span from pre-Columbian days to Lázaro Cárdenas. Under nine topical

headings: Indian Mexico, The Spanish Conquest, The Colony of New Spain, The War of Independence, The Age of Santa Anna, The Reform, The Reign of Díaz, The Revolution, and the Period of Reconstruction, he has grouped forty chapters of varying length and value. Illustrations and an extensive bibliography add to the interest of the text.

The task was great. The author has tried to pick the main thread from a maze of contradictory materials, adding descriptive details to enrich the narrative. He has not always been happy, however, in his choice, nor as discriminating as one might wish in his judgments. Here and there he has risen above long-standing tradition and popular bias, but in the estimate of the values of Spanish civilization and its heritage he has fallen short and allowed himself to be unduly influenced by traditional prejudices whose roots go back to the rivalry between Spain and England in the sixteenth century.

Indian Mexico deals with the period before the conquest upon which ethnologists and archaeologists are not wholly agreed since the sources of information are vague and subject to contradictory interpretation. Here, as throughout the book, there is a tendency to hasty generalizations. The native races were not similar either in racial characteristics, or in attainments, or in their customs and habits. To state, therefore, that "the Indian peoples of Mexico sprang from the same racial stock and had similar physical and mental characteristics" is too sweeping a generalization when we consider the Maya, the Aztec, the Toltec, the Chichimec, and the hundreds of barbarous tribes of the north. Here were graduations of culture and temperament that defy generalization. The inadvertent reference to wooden idols is misleading, for practically all the idols were of stone.

But more significant is the assertion that "in becoming Christians, the Indians did not cease to be pagans." Modern historians insist in making this statement based on misleading external evidence. The fact that the natives pray to sacred images, make pilgrimages, and perform symbolic dances are no more signs of paganism than are the lighted Christmas tree, the witches and black cats of Halloween, or the rabbits of Easter, so strongly reminiscent of the cult of the druids and other pagan practices of our Teutonic ancestors. Latin American historians may rightly conclude that we are pagan from such widespread practices.

The account of the conquest offers no novelty. Emphasis is still placed on the cruelties of the *conquistador* and the treachery of the Spaniards. The colonial regime is painted in somber colors: three centuries of unscrupulous exploitation, misgovernment, destruction of native populations by slow extermination or enslavement, and complete neglect of education. The less spectacular aspects of the fusion of two races, the patient dissemination of Christian culture, and the social and institutional development that prepared the people for independence are lightly touched upon.

The University of Mexico's founding is mentioned casually but its date is erroneously given as 1551 instead of 1553.

Following likewise an unfounded tradition, he solemnly declares "the Jesuit colleges alone offered Mexicans a genuine education", ignoring the work of other religious orders in this field. Of the Church in colonial days he has this to say: "The Mexican Church at the end of the colonial period represented little that could be called civilization. Its doctrine was a barbaric compound of ritual and legend which, compared with the more elevated forms of Catholicism in Europe, was scarcely recognizable as belonging to the same religion". Here is a deftly phrased slur on Catholicism in Mexico to disarm unsuspecting, self-satisfied American Catholics, many of whom have fallen into the habit of the Pharisee.

There are instances in which the author rises above racial or religious prejudice, as when he declares "The English had, in reality, little justification for their self-esteem. It was true that English freebooters who were captured by the Spaniards were burnt as heretics or condemned to slavery in the galleys, but as pirates they had no claim to mercy. . . . In their dealings with colored races profit was usually their main consideration."

The struggle for Mexican independence is more fairly presented, but, in discussing the reform, religious prejudice crops up again. No impartial historian will deny the faults of the Church at the time of the reform movement, but neither can he arbitrarily maintain that the government of Juárez and his associates committed no wrongs. The pathetic story of the misguided Maximilian and the ambitious Carlotta is told with restraint and understanding.

The section dealing with the Díaz regime and the inevitable revolution that followed it, which is just now slowly coming to an end after a prolonged period of blind groping, is the best part of the book. A fair outline of the causes, the course followed by the revolution, and the slow achievement of its high ideals as presented here should prove of interest to the student of recent Mexican history. It is to the credit of the author that he has consistently attempted to be impartial and that he has risen above a good portion of the immense amount of prejudice and bias that has tainted all Mexican history. There is still room for a complete history based on an impartial study both of the sources and the character of Mexican culture.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

University of Texas

NOTES AND COMMENTS

For the benefit of the members of the American Catholic Historical Association and the readers of the REVIEW, it was suggested by the Executive Council of the Association to the Board of Editors of its official organ that in this, the first number of the new volume, an explanation be given of certain changes regarding the annual meeting of the Association and the editorial policy of the REVIEW.

For several years past Monsignor Guilday has been suffering from a rather serious impairment of the eyes. Therefore, on the advice of his doctor he has felt compelled to withdraw from active work as much as possible. Under the circumstances, he suggested the calling of a meeting of the Executive Council of the Association to receive his resignation from the office of Secretary. This meeting was called on February 20, 1941 at the Catholic University of America on the authority of Professor Marshall W. Baldwin, President of the Association, who empowered Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, First Vice-President of the Association, to preside in his absence. Those present were: Dr. McGuire, the Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., Second Vice-President, the Reverend John K. Cartwright, Treasurer, Monsignor Guilday, Secretary, and the Reverend John Tracy Ellis, an elected member of the Executive Council since the New York meeting in December, 1940.

To this meeting Monsignor Guilday presented his resignation as Secretary of the Association, a post he has held for the past twenty-one years. The members of the Executive Council present unanimously declined to accept that resignation. The Executive Council, however, did take action to relieve the Secretary of all duties connected with that office by unanimously passing the following resolution submitted by Monsignor Guilday:

> RESOLVED, that the Reverend John Tracy Ellis be appointed by the Executive Council as Acting Secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association with the full powers of the position of Secretary as specified in the Constitution, and as hitherto exercised by Monsignor Guilday, said powers to include authority over the services of the staff of the Executive Office.

The Executive Council also discussed the general program of the annual meeting of the Association, and voted to change it in some important particulars. At the forthcoming meeting, which will be held at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago on December 29-31, 1941, the following schedule is to be observed for the three days of the meeting. On the first day,

December 29, following the meeting of the Executive Council set for nine o'clock, there will be a morning session with a maximum of three papers read. The second day, December 30, there will be a mid-day luncheon conference, to be followed at four o'clock that afternoon by the annual business meeting and the presidential address. On the third day, December 31, there will be a second luncheon conference and a joint session with the American Historical Association in either the morning or afternoon, depending upon the time most convenient to the two Associations. This rearrangement will allow considerably more time to our members to attend the sessions of the American Historical Association and the other societies meeting concurrently. Furthermore, the Executive Council named the following as members of the Program Committee: the Most Reverend Joseph M. Corrigan, Monsignor Guilday, the Reverend Raymond Corrigan, S.J. of St. Louis University, the Reverend Gerald G. Walsh, S.J. of Fordham University, Dr. Paul Kiniery of Loyola University, Chicago, and as secretary, the Reverend John Tracy Ellis.

With regard to the REVIEW, it was moved by Dr. McGuire that the Executive Council of the Association suggest the following policy to the Board of Editors of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW: a) that papers read at the annual meetings be not excluded as such from the REVIEW; b) that such papers, however, be considered by the editorial board on their merits and on the same basis as other contributions submitted; c) that every effort be made by the editors to secure papers written by competent scholars throughout the country. This motion was discussed and adopted unanimously.

On February 27, 1941, there took place the regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Editors of the REVIEW held at the Catholic University of America. Present at this meeting were the Editor-in-Chief, Monsignor Guilday, the Associate Editors, the Reverend Aloysius K. Ziegler, the Reverend John Tracy Ellis, and Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, and the Secretary-Treasurer of the REVIEW, the Reverend James A. Magner. On this occasion the Editor-in-Chief presented the difficulty mentioned above in regard to his eyes. Again it was the sense of the editorial board that he should not resign his post, but to relieve him of this work the Board of Editors unanimously chose the Reverend John Tracy Ellis as Managing Editor of the REVIEW with full powers to handle the editorial business of the journal.

The proposal made at the Executive Council meeting of the Association the week previous regarding the policy of publication of articles in the REVIEW, was discussed and was unanimously adopted by the Board of Editors. It was also decided that the editors adopt the general policy of limiting manuscripts submitted for possible publication to about thirty typed pages double-spaced. The policy of limitation is necessitated by the restriction in length for any one issue of the REVIEW, and also by the desire

to secure as much variety as possible in the published articles. It was decided that all future contributions submitted as articles should be finally passed upon by the Board of Editors at the quarterly meetings. It was the sense of the editors that the REVIEW, as the official organ of the American Catholic Historical Association, should be co-ordinated as closely as possible with the interests and aims of the Association and thus best fulfill its purpose.

The Executive Council of the American Catholic Historical Association and the Board of Editors of THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW wish to thank Monsignor Guilday for the faithful and distinguished service he has rendered for over twenty years to the development and furthering of interest in the cause of Catholic historical scholarship through the American Catholic Historical Association and its official organ, THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. They wish further to state their satisfaction in knowing that the Association and the REVIEW are not to be entirely deprived of his valued counsel and the rich store of his experience in these enterprises, and lastly to express their prayerful hope that he may soon be restored to his health and former vigor.

The editors are happy to announce that Dr. Leo F. Stock of the department of history of the Catholic University of America and of Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C., has consented to give the REVIEW editorial assistance in matters concerning American history insofar as his other duties will permit.

Mr. James T. Farrell, Ph.D., associate professor of history at the College of New Rochelle, has been named one of the advisory editors of the REVIEW. Dr. Farrell is the author of "The Administration of Justice in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut," which he presented as a dissertation at Yale University in 1937. At present he is engaged in editing the legal diary of William Samuel Johnson for the American Historical Association.

The members of the American Catholic Historical Association will recall that through the generous co-operation of the House of P. J. Kenedy and Sons three volumes entitled *Papers of the Association* have been published in recent years: *Church Historians* (1926), *The Church in Contemporary Europe: 1919-1931* (1932), and *The Catholic Philosophy of History* (1936). The first and third of these volumes are now out of print. There are about 700 copies of the second volume (the nine papers read at the Minneapolis Convention in 1931) on the condition of the Catholic Church after the end of the World War in 1919. By a special arrangement with the publishers, these copies can be purchased in paper binding for sixty cents postpaid. No more satisfactory book could be presented to those who are interested in the crisis through which the Catholic Church is now passing. The countries dealt with are the following: Belgium, England, France, Ger-

many, Ireland, Italy, Russia, and Spain. The writers are all competent in their respective fields. Orders for the volume should be sent to Messrs. P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 12 Barclay Street, New York City.

The Reverend Dr. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., a distinguished member of the American Catholic Historical Association, died on March 1 at St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas. He was buried at Notre Dame, Indiana. Father Foik was the author of *Pioneer Catholic Journalism* (New York, 1930). In recent years he had been chairman of a commission for the study of the Catholic history of Texas. The commission has published two volumes of a series of projected studies on the early religious history of Texas. Father Foik's interest lay largely in the source materials of history, and he worked much in libraries and archives. The list of his articles in the *Index* of the REVIEW testify to this, as do his articles in *The Catholic Educational Review*. He had been librarian at the University of Notre Dame and was in charge of the library at St. Edward's. He was one of the chief founders of the Catholic Library Association.

Monsignor Johann Peter Kirsch, P.A. died recently in Rome. He was a native of the Duchy of Luxemburg. For years he was a professor of church history at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland. In 1926 he became the director of the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology in Rome. As such he founded the *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* and the series, Studi di archeologia cristiana. For many years he was the editor of the *Römische Quartalschrift*. Besides writing numerous important monographs, he was the editor of the recent revision of Cardinal Hergenröther's *Kirchengeschichte* and he himself revised the first volume. Our readers will be especially familiar with his articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Many American scholars learned to know him at Fribourg and especially at Campo Santo, where he resided during most of his sojourn in Rome. He will be remembered for his genial character as well as for his erudition. It was probably the combination of the two which enabled him to inspire many scholars to produce good historical work. He was affectionately known to his friends and students as "Papa" Kirsch.

The preceding issue of THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW mentioned in a brief notice (p. 521) the great loss which Catholic science suffered in the death of Franz Joseph Dölger on October 17, 1940. He had been since 1929 professor of early church history, patrology, Christian archaeology, and history of religions at the University of Bonn. Previously he had taught at the universities of Würzburg (1906-12), Münster (1912-26), and Breslau (1926-29). The fact that he was the first Catholic scholar to hold a chair in comparative religion at a German university and the importance of his numerous publications will ensure him a lasting position in the history of Catholic scholarship.

Dölger, a native of Franconia, was born in Sulzbach am Main on October 18, 1879. He studied at the University of Würzburg and shortly after his ordination to the priesthood received his doctor's degree in theology from this university. His dissertation treating of the sacrament of confirmation from the viewpoint of the history of dogma was the prize dissertation of the University of Würzburg in 1906. But Dölger realized very soon that it was impossible to have a thorough knowledge of the religious life of Christian antiquity without an exact investigation of the cultural and religious environment into which Christianity entered. He therefore spent several years traveling through the Mediterranean countries studying the monuments of classical and Christian antiquity. His next publications in their method and their content show the results of these studies. He made use not only of the writings of classical and ancient ecclesiastical authors but also of the epigraphical material and archaeological monuments. Thus, for instance, were published his *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (1909), *Sphragis, eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung* (1911), *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze* (1918), *Sol salutis* (1920, 2nd ed. 1925). But the best example of his method is his monumental work IXΘYC in five volumes, which made him world-famous. It has been called by critics "a complete representation of Christian archaeology on the basis of an ancient Christian symbol", namely the fish. In this work he finally confirmed the Christian character of the inscription of Abercius and proved it to be the most ancient monument of the Eucharist. His philological exactness and his deep understanding of the cultural background made his conclusions so convincing that even the most eminent non-Catholic scholars agreed. In the year 1929 he founded his own periodical entitled *Antike und Christentum*, of which the sixth volume was appearing at the time of his death. Every article of this outstanding periodical was written by himself, a monument to his wide research and untiring labor. The title of this periodical, "Antiquity and Christianity", may be called the theme of his life's work. The conflict which arose when Christianity left the land of its birth and entered the pagan culture of antiquity and the Christian solution to this conflict whether by accommodation or by rejection was really the problem to which he dedicated his talents. His principle in all his investigations was Tertullian's words:

VERITAS NON ERUBESCIT NISI SOLUMMODO ABSCONDIT.

Yet Dölger was not only a successful author, he was also a brilliant teacher. PISCICULI, the anniversary volume published by his students and friends and dedicated to him on his sixtieth birthday (cf. *The Cath. Hist. Review*, XXVI, 1940, 95 f.), is an excellent proof of the high esteem in which he was held as a teacher. The *Osservatore Romano* pays him this tribute (No. 256, 1940, p. 2): "In the service of theological science he showed the true zeal of an ascetic ready for every sacrifice, and to this zeal

he united an equal love of truth and scientific honesty. He was very severe with those who had not the humility to admit their errors. He himself frankly declared and corrected his own errors, and in this point he resembled to a certain extent the great Origen."

The REVIEW welcomes *The Jurist*, a new quarterly review published by the School of Canon Law of the Catholic University of America. The attractive ninety-six page first issue appeared in January. In it Stephan Kuttner publishes an article on Gratian. Robert J. White writes on "Certain Aspects of the Legal Status of the Church in the United States." Louis Motry emphasizes the "sacredness" of canon law, calling attention to the dogmatic, moral, ascetical, and mystical implications of the canons. About one quarter of the number is devoted to notes and reviews of periodical literature. There is a brief report of the activities of the Riccobono Seminar of Roman Law. The new periodical fills a long-felt need. Historians as well as canonists will find it very useful. The subscription price is three dollars *per annum*. Communications should be addressed to The Business Manager, *The Jurist*, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

A new quarterly review of the sacred and secular sciences, *Franciscan Studies*, was announced for March. It is to replace the series of monographs entitled Franciscan Studies and will contain in its December issue the *Report* of the Franciscan Educational Conference. An attractive list of articles is announced for the first number. The editorial offices are at St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure P. O., New York. The annual subscription price is five dollars.

In connection with the six-week summer session of the Catholic University of America there will be an Institute of Catholic Social Studies. The Institute will be directed by the Reverend Dr. John F. Cronin, S.S. Its purpose will be to train students in the principles of social justice. No degrees will be granted. Information may be secured from the Director of the Summer Session, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

The third Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies will be held in the Graduate College, Princeton University, under the directorship of Professor Philip K. Hitti, for a period of six weeks beginning Saturday morning, June 21, 1941. The courses are open to thirty-three men and women of graduate standing. Teachers and students of philosophy and religion, Near Eastern and mediaeval history, Romance languages and fine arts will be offered an opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge of some of the sources in the Islamic phases of their respective subjects. Courses will be offered in the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages, as well as in Arab history and literature, Turkish history, and Islamic art and archae-

ology. For further information address Dr. Nabih A. Faris, P. O. Box 342, Princeton, New Jersey.

Those interested in Biblical history and related phases of ancient history will be aided by an important new feature of the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, a review of current periodical literature, edited by the Reverends Patrick W. Skehan and John P. Weisengoff.

Vol. XIII (1937-1940), Fasc. I, of *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, published by the Biblioteca Balmes in Barcelona, is dedicated to the memory of the editors and collaborators of that excellent publication who perished as victims of the religious persecution of 1936. The list consists of twelve priests, among them the founder of the Biblioteca Balmes, Father Ignacio Casanovas, S.J. Providentially the fine new building in which the Biblioteca was housed escaped damage during the war, though the files of Vol. XII of the *Analecta* were partly seized by the Marxist government to make paper. Henceforth the Biblioteca is to be known as the Fundación Balmesiana. Father Fernando Mª. Palmés is the new director.

Several articles in this latest number of the *Analecta* are of interest to historians. Father José Vives endeavors to establish more precisely the dating of the cemetery of Tarragona, the most remarkable of the early Christian excavations in Spain. He maintains that it was used until the early sixth century and probably until the middle of that century. Pedro Battle Huguet discusses some fragments of early Christian sarcophagi of Tarragona. The article has four plates. Place-names on Visigothic coins are studied by F. Mateu y Llopis. Professor Johannes Vincke of Braunsberg publishes the documents connected with the embassy sent by Pedro IV of Aragon to the sultan of Egypt concerning the Holy Land. Francisco Miguel Rosell edits a considerable collection of letters of the distinguished sixteenth-century humanist, Antonio Augustín.

The first number of Volume LVIII (1940) of the *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* contains a good selective bibliography on the Rule of St. Benedict by Dom Romuald Bauerreiss. It aims to serve those interested in the problem of the interpretation of the Rule. Works are listed under three main headings: bibliography of bibliographies, the text of the Rule and translations, and commentaries on the content of the Rule.

The Capuchin historical quarterly, *Collectanea Franciscana*, has been transferred from Assisi to Via Sicilia 159A, Rome (125), where it will be published by the Historical Institute of the Capuchin Friars Minor. The October number of this periodical has a long review article in Latin on recent contributions to the history of preaching.

Father Antonius-Maria Vellico, O.F.M. begins his article in the January number of *Antonianum*, "De charactere scientifico sacrae theologiae apud

Doctorem Subtilem," with a rather extensive list of recent articles in the controversy concerning the scientific nature of theology. In the same issue Father Willibrord Lampen, O.F.M. gives a new list of the manuscripts of Richard of Middleton.

The 1939 report of the Reichsinstitut für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde (Monumenta Germaniae historica) appears in the first number of Volume IV of the *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1940). As was to be expected, the war has slowed up the work on many of the research projects of the Institute. Some of the collaborators have been mobilized; others were transferred to different types of work. Subsidies were curtailed. Even the quarters of the Institute could not be heated for two and a half months during the winter of 1939-1940. In spite of all that, Edmund E. Stengel is able to announce the publication or the near publication of a stately list of works.

Eine Heilige Kirche is an interesting periodical edited by Friedrich Heiler, professor at the University of Marburg. The editor is well known as the head of what may be called a "High-Church movement" in Germany and as a most zealous advocate of a reunion of the Christian Churches. The present issue, June-December 1939 (published belatedly in 1940), is dedicated to the much-desired reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the Council of Florence (1439). It contains seventeen articles. Two of them center around this problem. Prince Nikolaus Massalsky and Friedrich Heiler treat the importance of the Council of Florence for a future reunion. Schorlemer tries to elucidate what the Eastern and Western liturgies have in common. One of the articles contains a eulogy of a Catholic champion of reunion who died recently, Arnold Rademacher of the faculty of theology at the University of Bonn. Several articles describe the relations of the Western and Eastern Churches.

In a series, Aus der Welt christlicher Frömmigkeit, edited by the same F. Heiler, a collaborator of his, Curt R. A. Georgi, publishes *Die Confessio Dosithei (Jerusalem 1672)*, Munich, 1940. The author gives first a biography of Dositheus, patriarch of Jerusalem from 1669-1707, and then an account of the Synod of Jerusalem 1672, on which occasion this *Confessio* was composed by Dositheus. The second part of the book presents a detailed analysis of this symbol, the most recent of the Eastern Churches. Originating at a time when the Eastern and Western Churches were trying to make contact again, the creed is of peculiar interest. The author proves that in the *Confessio* there is an anti-Protestant tendency and a decisive leaning to the doctrines of the Council of Trent and the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas.

Volume XVIII, No. 53 (November 1940) of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* contains a list compiled by R. Somerville giving the

details of the ecclesiastical patronage exercised by the Duchy of Lancaster from 1399-1485. The data are taken from the Duchy records of that period now in the Public Record Office.

Supplement Number 11 of the *Bulletin* gives the 1939 bibliography of the historical societies of England and Wales.

The March issue of the *Journal of Modern History* carries several items of interest to readers of the REVIEW. Professor Howard R. Marraro of Columbia University publishes eleven documents which he discovered in the archives of the American embassy in Rome and in the American consulates of several Italian cities. They deal with the occupation of Rome in September, 1870 by the forces of Victor Emmanuel II. In a letter of August 28, 1870 the American minister to Italy, George P. Marsh, wrote Secretary of State Fish from Florence that there were "at present no indications of a disposition on the part of the Roman people to resort to energetic measures for the overthrow of the Pontifical Government" (p. 53). The Americal consul at Naples, B. O. Duncan, informed Fish on September 21 that the Neapolitans had taken the occupation of Rome with great enthusiasm, and he remarked, "the priests were prudent enough not to appear on the streets" (p. 56). On October 12 Marsh, still in residence at Florence, had changed his mind about Roman reaction to the pontifical régime, for he informed Secretary Fish, "the great unanimity of the people is important as a refutation of the pretence of the clerical party that the Romans were contented with the Papal Government and desired no change in their political condition." The American minister went on to say: "I believe that a large majority of the Italian people would approve the abrogation of the first article of the Constitution of 1848, which makes the "Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion the only religion of the State," and that they would acquiesce in the recognition of the absolute legal and civil political equality of the worshippers, the teachers and the ministers of every creed alike without reference to ecclesiastical rank, and of course in the abolition of all clerical privilege and exemption whatever. I believe the Government would be triumphantly sustained by the people in exercising over Rome the same power and jurisdiction which it exercises elsewhere, in extending to it the general law of the land without any manner of exception, and consequently in refusing to the Pope all legal prerogative and privilege, or guaranty of any sort, except those common rights and securities which institutions of Italy afford to every citizen who obeys her laws, and a reasonable pecuniary indemnity for the loss of the revenue of productive estates hitherto held by the Papacy, but now appropriated by the Government" (p. 61).

A second item is contained in the article of Trevor Williams of Merton College, Oxford, entitled, "James Stephen and British Intervention in New Zealand, 1838-40." Stephen was permanent undersecretary of state for the

colonies from 1836-1847. He was definitely suspicious of the personnel of the New Zealand Colonisation Company because he found there too many Catholics. He opposed the grant to the Company's directors of the right of settlement and government of portions of New Zealand, for, as he said, if they were left to do the job, "New Zealand will infallibly become a Roman Catholic country. I am convinced that this would give serious offence to all the religious Bodies which have established Missions there" (p. 36). The activity of the French in New Zealand had been magnified by the local Protestant missionaries into a far-flung plot against British interests on the part of the Marist missionary, Father Pompallier. The project of having the Company undertake the work fell through largely because of Stephen's opposition. Nevertheless Stephen was more kindly disposed towards Catholics than many of his contemporaries, as his writings on the Jesuits show, but he balked at the possibility of framing a Catholic polity in colonial affairs.

The Sixth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States (Publication No. 15 of the National Archives, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1941) covers the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940. Besides the report proper there are several appendixes. Among these are the regulations laid down by the Archivist, November 22, 1940, for the use of records in his custody. In the list of publications for which information was obtained from material in the National Archives the only title concerning church history seems to be Bishop R. O. Gerow's "Bishop Elder at Natchez" (*Catholic Action of the South*, Feb. 8–June 27, 1940). There is a nine-page list of publications by the staff of the National Archives. Several facsimiles of documents enliven the *Report*, among them pages from the journal of Hezekiah Fay concerning Arnold's treason.

National Archives Publication No. 16 consists of the *First Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States as to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.*

A recent W.P.A. project is the *Guide to the Manuscripts in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina* published by the University of North Carolina Press (1941) as Vol. 24, No. 2 of the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. There are 809 entries, some of which contain hundreds and even thousands of items. The index reveals only two references to Catholicism.

St. John's University, Brooklyn, has received from Mr. John E. Baxter, K.S.G. a donation which will permit the library of the University to build up a great collection of works on American history during the Reconstruction Period.

Fordham University has acquired 5,200 volumes on the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Period from the collection of the late Joseph Givernaud.

The Reverend Dr. Peter Leo Johnson's work on the life of Father Martin Kundig, pioneer priest of Milwaukee, will shortly be published by Bruce. An idea of the fascinating interest of the life of this famous missionary priest was given by Archbishop Messmer in several articles published some years ago in the *Salesianum:* "Chips for a Kundig Block."

"The Catholic Press" is the study outline published by *Catholic Action* in its January number. A section is devoted to "Bishop England—Pioneer Catholic Journalist." In the March outline, "Working for a Just Peace", an historian, the late Parker T. Moon, is held up as a model "Catholic Actionist for Peace."

The December, 1940, issue of Transactions of the American Philosophical Society published a masterpiece of historical research in the essay prepared by Professor Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University and entitled, *The Route of Columbus along the North Coast of Haiti, and the Site of Navidad.* The author of this splendid study and the leader of the expedition on which it is based says correctly that "Most of Columbus's biographers make no more effort to identify the places that he visited and named, than if his voyage had been one to the moon." Few, if any, actually retraced the route of Columbus or went about it so thoroughly as did Professor Morison. It is the first voyage of Columbus he deals with, examining the north coast of Haiti from Cape St. Nicholas to Monte Cristi. The investigation was accompanied by an intensive study of the relevant documents and of ancient maps and charts. Naturally, the chief document was Columbus's journal of the first voyage. The route therein traced was carefully followed by Professor Morison and his associates. The results of the investigation were most gratifying and the recital of them in this issue of the Transactions will surely be read with keen interest by such as prefer sound and careful scholarship to easygoing guesswork and fanciful romance. Professor Morison merits their gratitude and commendation for his important achievement. Thanks to his scholarly investigation, we know now in a fairly definite way what route Columbus followed on his first voyage along the north coast of Haiti, where on that fateful Christmas eve in 1492 the *Santa Maria* was wrecked, and where a few days later the first European settlement in the New World was planted and named Navidad.

The March number of *The Catholic Digest* contains several condensed articles of historical interest: "Process of Canonization" by Eugene Spiess, O.S.B.; "The Virgin of Lujan" by Juan Aldeano; "The Crown of the Immaculate Conception [from the Cathedral of Popayán]" by Redmond Burke, C.S.V.; "Hiding-Hole Secrets" by David le Roi; "Prince-Priest of the Alleghenies" by Lester Schexnayder.

At the end of an article condensed from *America* on "The Way to Good Will [with Latin America]" by Senator Dennis Chavez, the editor of *The Catholic Digest* makes the important announcement that it is planning to

co-operate with the Catholic University of America in putting out an edition of the *Digest* in Spanish. Dr. Bussard solicits the opinions of his readers concerning this project and their support for it. The purpose of the *Digest* would be to acquaint Spanish Americans with Catholic thought and action in the United States. It would accomplish inestimable good. There should be enough Catholics genuinely interested in Latin America to give the magazine the financial aid it will require.

During the winter the following public lectures were given at the Catholic University of America under the auspices of the Institute of Ibero-American Studies: The Reverend Aurelio Espinosa Polit, S.J., distinguished classical scholar of Ecuador, lectured on "The Classical Element in the Culture of Ecuador," and Dr. Victor Andrés Belaunde, professor of the history of culture at the Catholic University of Lima and at the University of San Marcos, and one of the most distinguished Catholic lay leaders in South America, gave two lectures, the first, on "The Crisis of Modern Culture and Disintegration of the State," the second, on "The Ethical and Cultural Bases of Pan-Americanism." The Reverend Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S.J., dean of the faculty of letters and philosophy at the Catholic University of Lima and an authority on the colonial history of Peru, spoke in Spanish before the Institute of Ibero-American Studies on "Certain Aspects of Peruvian Culture."

To commemorate the anniversaries of Portugal observed during the past year the New York Public Library arranged an exhibition of books, maps, and pamphlets relating to Portuguese discoveries and explorations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *Bulletin* for February prints a list of these together with descriptive notes.

After years of heated discussion, the government of Portuguese India has decreed that membership in religious brotherhoods will not, henceforth, be restricted by caste distinctions. A report on the problem from the point of view of canon law was earlier submitted by His Excellency, the Archbishop of Goa and Patriarch of the East Indies.

A commission has been appointed by the President of Brazil to determine the exact landfall of Cabral's expedition. Bernardino José de Sousa, delegate from Baía, heads the investigating body.

In a penetrating lecture delivered in Recife (Pernambuco) last June, Snr. Gilberto Freyre, the eminent Brazilian social historian, focused attention on the dangers which the culture of his country faces from non-Portuguese elements. He used the term "Franciscan" to describe the fundamental character of Brazilian civilization and felt that the spirit of extreme tolerance which prevails in Brazil should not be used to shield subversive activities. The lecture has since been published under the title of *Uma cultura ameaçada: a luso-brasileira* (Recife, 1940).

The October 1940 number of the *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, published by the Department of Culture of the municipality of São Paulo, Brazil, includes a well-illustrated article on the historic churches of the city of Baía, at one time the colonial capital of the country.

The *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Norte*, of Natal, Brazil, has recently published a number of documents which throw new light on the Brazilian revolution of 1817 (Vols. XXXII-XXXIV, 129-154).

A book filled to overflowing with facts is Afrânio Peixoto's *Pequena história das Américas* (São Paulo, 1940). This work, by a former president of the Brazilian Academy, is a convenient résumé of the history of the New World.

The year 1941 will mark the centenary of the birth of Salvador de Mendonça, some time minister of Brazil to the United States. The Lima Library, at the Catholic University of America, will celebrate the anniversary by exhibiting a number of Mendonça autographs.

Don Rafael Heliodoro Valle, eminent historian from Mexico City, visited the Catholic University of America during his recent stay in Washington. He was especially pleased with the collection of rare books on Latin America in the Lima Library.

Documents: Cenni biografici scritti dal P. Lattanzio da Terni [biographies of some early Capuchins]. Francesco da Vicenza, O.F.M.Cap. (*Collectanea Franciscana*, Oct.). — Fr. Petri Joannis Olivi tractatus "De perlegendis Philosophorum libris." Ed. with introduction by Ferdinandus M. Delorme, O.F.M. (*Antonianum*, Jan.).—Population of the El Paso District in 1692 (*Mid-America*, Jan.).—Unpublished American Documents on Italy's Occupation of Rome [Reports of representatives of the United States government in Italy]. Howard R. Marraro (*Journal of Modern History*, Mar.).—Discourse delivered by our Holy Father Pius XII in the Basilica of Santa Maria sopra Minerva May 5, 1940, after a solemn sacred function in honor of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Catherine of Siena, chief patrons of Italy. English translation (*Australasian Catholic Record*, Jan.). — Los hombres de Agosto [Report made in 1813 concerning the attitude of various people in Quito toward the revolution]. Isaac J. Barrera (*Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, Ecuador, Jul.-Dec.).

A *Jubilee Volume* was published to commemorate the golden anniversary of St. Francis de Sales Parish, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The jubilee was celebrated November 27-29. Bishop Hugh L. Lamb is the present pastor.

To commemorate its fiftieth anniversary the Abbey of St. Leo at Saint Leo, Florida, has issued a volume, the *Saint Leo Golden Jubilee, 1890-1940*, giving the history of the community.

The October issue of *The Aurora* reports the celebration of the centenary of the College of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods.

Besides the anniversaries mentioned in the previous issue of the REVIEW, the march of time brings us up this year to these interesting centennials: The Diocese of Helena is preparing to celebrate the birth of the Church in Montana, marked by the arrival of Father Peter De Smet's band of Jesuit missionaries at the Bitter Root River, where, on September 24, 1841, they opened St. Mary's Flathead Mission, earliest Catholic center in Montana and the Church's first Indian mission in the Pacific Northwest.— Blessed Philippine Duchesne, R.S.C.J., arrived in July, 1841, at the Jesuit Potawatomi Mission of Sugar Creek, near the present Centerville, Linn County, Kansas, there to begin her brief career as an Indian missionary. The Diocese of Leavenworth is preparing to observe the centenary of the event. — The city of St. Charles, Missouri, and its Catholic parish of St. Charles Borromeo will observe their sesquicentennial anniversary on November 7, 1941.—In June, 1941, occurs the tercentenary of the coming of St. Isaac Jogues and his Jesuit companion, Father Charles Raymbaud, to the "Soo," in Michigan. They were the first priests to reach the northern Middle West.

BRIEF NOTICES

BARKER, CHARLES A. *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 419. $3.50.) Dr. Barker directs his attention to the tensions, impulses, conditions, and ideas which prepared Maryland for revolution and independence in the belief that they have not received due consideration. Accordingly he studies the structure of society, life, and thought of the two distinct sections of the colony, and the involvement of economic life with the fortunes of tobacco. Likewise he considers the proprietary and representative elements in the government, the place of Maryland in the British system, anti-proprietary movements, and resistance to imperial reform. He discovers three main sources of discontent in the impulse for economic reform stemming from depression in the tobacco trade, growing liberalism of thought which prompted criticism of established institutions, and the general policy of the proprietary government which gave rise to divisions in the body politic. At no time was there real peace between the proprietor and the colonists, with the result that on the eve of the Revolution the prerogative of the crown was rapidly supplanting that of the Baltimores. Moreover during the seventeen-sixties Marylanders became more catholic in outlook and interest so that events in the other colonies touched them more deeply. Based on a wealth of primary and secondary sources, this is a careful study of the subject. Some parts of the book are very interesting reading while others are heavy and difficult, largely because too many statistics have been incorporated into the text. (CHARLES H. METZGER)

BERKELEY, G. F. H., and J. *Italy in the Making: Jan. 1st to Nov. 16th 1848.* Volume III. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xxvii, 489. $6.00.) This book is an interesting, rather detailed account of political and military events in the Italian states in 1848. It might be called a commentary on the period since the writers repeatedly inject their observations and interpretations. The authors, who are liberal Protestants of nationalistic leanings, while endeavoring to be fair, seldom fail to pronounce ethical judgment, as witness the following: "but surely the people most to blame", (p. 19); "yet he [Charles Albert] was right to move when he did" (p. 105); "undoubtedly he was right" (p. 132); "Mazzini, to his credit, replied" (p. 326); "which was manifestly wrong" (p. 340); "absolutely right" (p. 398); "Garibaldi was right in perceiving that the holy work" etc., (p. 433). The point of view is apparently that the forces leading to the unification of Italy as it actually took place were "right"; opposing or differing forces, while receiving consideration, stand self-condemned. About half of the twenty-four chapters is concerned with a painstaking description of military operations. Twelve maps of military engagements are included. The purpose of these lengthy accounts seems to be to justify the later abandonment of the principle *Italia farà da sè* in favor of a foreign alliance.

It is made clear that the war against Austria in 1848 was the work of a minority in the peninsula; that military spirit was almost absent from the vast majority. The complicity of Sterbini in the assassination of Rossi is emphasized; Sterbini's motive was fear that Rossi would succeed in organizing a moderate government for the Papal States under the direction of Pius IX, and so defeat the purpose of the radicals. The need of the papacy for an independent state in order to safeguard the spiritual independence of the pope is not recognized; the contrary impression is several times conveyed, as on pp. 3, 194, 336, 439. It is questionable whether this book makes any considerable contribution to the history of Italy. However, the authors are devoted to their subject, and they have set for themselves the task of presenting to their countrymen a more nearly complete story of the making of Italy than has hitherto been available to English readers. (SISTER LORETTA CLARE)

BUSH, DOUGLAS. *The Renaissance and English Humanism.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1939. Pp. 139. $1.50.) In these four lectures delivered on the Alexander Foundation of the University of Toronto, Professor Bush has done what many a scholar should do, he has paused to take a look at the perspective. The essence of the lectures is the result of years of scholarly investigation, not only on the part of Professor Bush, but by his ancestors and his fellows in the field. They reveal the fact that the usually accepted concept of the nature and achievement of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance needs a complete revision. Professor Bush has reached the stage of quarreling with the term Middle Ages as a misnomer: middle between what? And with the too exclusive application of the term Renaissance to a single historical period.

Scholarship now recognizes a series of renaissances, continental and insular, throughout the Middle Ages. With the Irish and English monastic schools and the courts of Alfred and Charlemagne in mind, one could go further and point to an earlier series of renaissances extending from the seventh to the tenth centuries. Since classicists have ceased to close their minds firmly to everything written since the second century, with each succeeding study the once stigmatized Dark Ages grow progressively brighter. In other words, a new concept of the continuity of science and art is being formed; the coordination of scholarship in the various fields of science, history, art, literature, and language has broken down the too easily made generalizations which have become classic in our historical and literary terminology.

The fundamental statement of Professor Bush's lectures is that neither learning nor art have ever been the exclusive property of a single age, race, creed, or school of thought. That would seem to be a self-evident fact, but in the light of much that is still written and taught, the statement not only needed to be made, but argued and insisted upon. We trust that now that he has outlined his position, Professor Bush will achieve the larger work he so vaguely promised in the lectures, and supplement his necessarily dogmatic assertions with the chapter and verse of the many scholarly investigations whose multiplicity he so rightly deplores. (SISTER M. EMMANUEL COLLINS)

BUTLER, PIERCE. *The Origin of Printing in Europe.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 155. $1.50.) The examination of the earliest extant monuments of printing, fifty-six different issues of the press, and the literary sources extant, lead the author of this monograph to the conclusion that Gutenberg was not the inventor of printing. He thinks that "the Gutenberg legend is probably the purest example of folklore ever developed in modern times" (p. 143). The fallacy of reasoning is too evident; the good and bad points are placed side by side to disparage both. Mr. Butler's volume has its merits; many original documents are given in English translation, and early printing is visualized by facsimile reproductions. The chapter on the technological basis of printing (pp. 28-63) develops some new points which invalidate a number of the assumptions of the so-called Gutenberg legend. The author has praise for the broad cultural training of the Middle Ages (pp. 17-19) and little respect for modern scholarship (pp. 23-27). However, the cultural influences which led up to the invention of printing are not mentioned. Mr. Butler presents the matter with great clarity. His book serves its purpose only in part owing to its hyper-critical tendency; yet it is the best book on its subject as far as English literature is concerned. (JOHN M. LENHART)

CHANDLER, ALBERT R. *The Clash of Political Ideals.* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1940. Pp. xvii, 273. $2.00.) The purpose of this volume is best indicated by its sub-title and the opening words of the author's preface. The sub-title reads: *A Source Book on Democracy, Communism and the Totalitarian States.* The author begins his preface with the statement that "this book is for all those who wish to learn at first hand of the rival ideals of Democracy, Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and the Japanese nation".

The author seeks to accomplish his purpose through the medium of nineteen chapters of direct quotation from various sources. It is most difficult to understand the basis which the author used in making his selections. There are selections from periods of history ranging from that of Thucydides up to contemporary times. The obvious implication would appear to be that the author intends to make selections from the outstanding sources of political thought throughout the centuries. Yet there is no mention of such influential sources of democracy as the Magna Carta or the Bill of Right of 1688.

It would appear that the amount of exposition devoted to the various political theories should be in proportion to their spread and influence. Yet ninety pages are devoted to various exponents of American democracy, while only nine pages are given over to the presentation of Nazism and Fascism. Both Walt Whitman and John Dewey receive twice as much space as either of the totalitarian movements, while Herbert Hoover is given about the same amount of space as each of these.

In presenting the political theory of Nazism, the author relies solely on excerpts from Hitler's *Mein Kampf.* He fails to use any of the excellent material contained in Oakeshott's similar volume. Neither writer used Rosenberg's *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts.* It would appear obligatory for anyone presenting the sources of Nazism to translate some of the more important passages from this work.

The selections from the communist writings and from the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* are very well chosen. Insofar as the author had to make a selection from this vast field, it must be said that his choice was excellent.

The reviewer feels that a better balanced volume would have resulted if the author had restricted himself to contemporary political thought and its immediate sources. For example, the excellent political philosophy underlying the state of Portugal and the constitution of Eire should receive some recognition. (CHARLES J. MCFADDEN)

CLYDE, PAUL HIBBERT (Ed.). *United States Policy Toward China. Diplomatic and Public Documents, 1839-1939.* (Durham; Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 321. $3.50.) This is a volume of readings intended for the use of college students following courses devoted to the study of eastern Asia and its relations with the United States. One hundred twenty-eight documents have been selected from the mass of material available as illustrative of American policy during the past century. They range from an 1839 memorial of American merchants at Canton to Secretary Hull's note of 1939 terminating the Japanese trade treaty of 1911. The general organization of the material is chronological, with some topical grouping of the documents where it seems advisable. There is no attempt to interpret the documents or to provide a narrative of United States relations with the Far East. The editor's contribution is confined to a placing of the documents in their proper frame of reference. A helpful appendix lists the presidents and secretaries of state of the United States, and American diplomatic representatives in China between 1839 and 1939. There is no index. The mass of materials from which this selection was made is tremendous. No two experts on the Far East, if asked to make a similar selection, would probably agree completely as to the documents to be singled out for publication. Few would be able to better the choice made by Professor Clyde. (JOHN J. MENG)

CRUM, MASON. *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands.* (Durham: Duke University Press. Pp. xv, 351. $3.50.) The Negroes of the South Carolina low country, secluded for generations in the Sea Islands, are the least removed of their race from their native home, Africa. These are the Gullah Negroes. Their strange distortion of English with a peppering of African words is "Gullah". The word is derived from the name of the west coast Africans, the Golas. The dialect has given our language the words 'buckra', 'okra', 'yam' and many others, and but for the quaintness of the speech and the imagination of these people, there never would have been an Uncle Remus to thrill the hearts of thousands of counterparts of 'the little boy' the stories of 'b'rer rabbit and the creetures'. These people have enriched music with their spirituals, "Nobody Knows the Trouble I's Seen", their work songs "Water Boy" and they have inspired "Swanee River" and the "Deep River" theme of Dvorak's "New World Symphony".

Dr. Crum gives us these people in their joys and sorrows, their history, their culture, their religion, their life. He shows us how to appreciate them. He has written about the Gullah Negroes worthily and in a style that approaches the poetic. Perhaps too much space is given to the missionary efforts of

whites among these Negroes. But with all the space some mention could have been made of Catholic efforts. Dr. Crum ignores them entirely. There is too lengthy a telling of the faults and disillusionments of the reconstruction era. Most desirable would be a chapter of the superstitious customs of these people. A serious fault in the book is the entire absence of an index.

Dr. Crum, a native of the territory of which he treats, writes as one having knowledge. His book might almost be called a definitive study of the Gullah Negro. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

DE MOND, ROBERT O. *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. viii, 286. $3.00.) The title of this book makes clear its general content. The history of the loyalists has not been adequately treated or at least so outlined that it could be given its proper place in general works. This work might be a step in that direction. The plan of the book is good, but the author does not keep to it very carefully. One receives the impression of rereading details. Considerable matter seems irrelevant.

The author expects of his readers too great a knowledge of the history and geography of the South. The reader deserves early explanations of how Tryon was governor of both North Carolina and New York successively. Places such as Sullivan's Island and James Island should be more definitely marked as being in South Carolina.

Most unfortunate is the reference to authors, *e.g.*, Josiah Quincy, Jr., without citation or without including the works of these authors in the bibliography.

There are extensive appendices containing considerable matter which will be of great worth in the study of correlated topics. The index of the book is poor. In fact, though there is a great mass of information in the book, the import of that material is sometimes lost because of confusion of thought. The book is very much in need of re-editing because of typographical errors.

Though we are not deeply impressed with what the loyalists "might" have done, still the author shows quite well that in North Carolina the revolution was a civil war. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

DEMPSEY, MARTIN. *John Baptist De la Salle. His Life and His Institute.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1940. Pp. xiv, 255. $3.00.) In this slender work Father Dempsey, an Irish-born member of the Catholic Missionary Society of London, has provided an additional volume for the *Science and Culture Series,* edited by Father Joseph Husslein, S.J. About two-thirds of the book is devoted to telling in a simple manner the interesting and inspiring life of the noted canon of Rheims, while the latter third traces the development of his famous foundation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools from his death in 1719 to the present time. Anyone who knows even the broad outlines of the history of French elementary and secondary education realizes the debt owed to St. John Baptist de la Salle. Father Dempsey's book, however, will help to acquaint readers with the amazing story of the extension of his teaching Brothers into every continent.

One might take exception to several of the author's statements. For example, it is doubtful if it can accurately be said of the trend in French

politics between 1589 and 1661 that, "outwardly the policy of Henry and Louis, of Richelieu and of Mazarin, stood for the defence of the same principles: religious liberty and independence of the small nations" (p. 6). Moreover the canons of the Council of Trent were not applied in France as quickly and readily as Father Dempsey would lead us to believe (p. 22). While the author rightfully emphasizes the Brothers' services to elementary and secondary education, it might also be worthwhile to have noted their work in higher education in the United States during the present century. He does mention that in, "the New York district alone there are 500 Brothers in charge of several large colleges . . .", but mention might have been made too of the flourishing colleges conducted under their auspices in Moraga and Winona. A few slips were noted. For example, one should read "seventy" instead of "sixty" in Father Husslein's preface for the period of years extending between the saint's death and the revolution (p. x); then Father Dempsey has De la Salle receiving the master's degree at eighteen (p. 10) and seventeen (p. 12). Misprints were read on pages 85 and 225 and a wrong date on page 171. It was not under the "second" Napoleon that the Brothers were incorporated within the imperial university (p. 200), nor are the revolutionists of 1871 best termed "communists" (p. 211), but rather communards. Finally is it not just a bit of an exaggeration to say that, "De la Salle must have had the most natural flair for education ever possessed by any man" (p. 58)? These remarks, however, are not intended to detract from a book which gives on the whole a good brief sketch of a man who made a splendid contribution to his own day and to ours. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

FEDERN, KARL. *The Materialist Conception of History.* (London: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xiv, 262. $3.50.) Numerous theories have been presented by philosophers to explain historical progress, the causal links between single historical events, and the basic causes of those great transitional changes which occur periodically throughout history. The materialist conception of history, as presented by Marx and Engels, is such a theory. Its tremendous influence in our times is unquestionable. For this reason the theory deserves the consideration and critical analysis which it receives in the volume under review.

The author bases his exposition of the materialist conception of history principally on fifteen propositions which are to be found in Marx's *Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy,* and the exposition and critical evaluation of these propositions is presented.

The merit of this volume does not lie in its originality. Most of the philosophical and historical defects of Marxism treated by the author are to be found in previous works such as M. Bober's volume on *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History* (Harvard University Press, 1927). The merit of this work lies in its clear, fair-minded exposition and in its proper evaluation of the relative importance of the many errors inherent in the Marxian theory. Thus the author fittingly devotes much space to the primacy of mind as a determining cause of historical phenomena.

Without detracting from the general recommendation of the volume, at least one deficiency might be indicated. The author bases his exposition of the Marxian theory almost entirely on one lengthy, excellent quotation from Marx's *Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy*. It must be said that there is much appropriate and valuable material on the theory to be found in the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx-Engels, in Marx's *Capital*, and in Engels' two works: *Ludwig Feuerbach* and *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. The use of such sources would have resulted in a more rounded exposition of the theory, especially with reference to the manner in which Marx believed that economic forces create classes and a specific type of state, religion, morality, art and literature for each particular economic era. (CHARLES J. MCFADDEN)

FOERSTER, F. W. *Europe and the German Question*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1940. Pp. xviii, 474. $3.50). ARNOLD LUNN. *Whither Europe?* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1940. Pp. 270. $3.00.) For decades Foerster in his writings has aimed at a renewal of the spiritual foundations of German culture, perverted, as it seems to him, by an exclusive preoccupation with technique. In his new book packed full of facts and ideas, he reviews the whole of German history since the Treaty of Verdun in 843, and analyzes what he thinks to be the true mission of Germany. The gist of his statements is that Hitler is not "the illegitimate offspring of the Versailles Treaty," as H. C. Wolfe (*The German Octopus*) puts it, but rather the very legitimate son of Prussianism. In Foerster's opinion the Prusso-German responsibility for the present state of Europe began about 1866. Consequently Europe's ailment cannot be remedied by concessions made to Germany, but only by a radical elimination of Prussianism, and that for which it stands. Germany, the scarecrow of armed power, Foerster thinks, must no longer rule. Other peoples must take over this task. Germany must serve. This reversal of position will prove her cure and her regeneration. This verdict surprisingly echoes a statement Joseph Goerres made, more than a hundred years ago, when he wrote in his treatise, *The Growth of History* (1807): "The irate World Spirit reprobated the Germans because of their disinclination to rule, and condemned them to ignominious subjugation for centuries to come."

Lunn's book differs in form from Foerster's work, being a loose collection of travel talks rather than a coherent treatise. The author has a good sense of humor and knows how to season his account with satire and irony. Some of his statements are excellent, for instance, when he points out that the old Austro-Hungarian empire was a real league of nations, and that its final destruction at the Paris peace conference was a political blunder. He further proves quite satisfactory in interpreting and vindicating British policy. Often, however, the reports and statements are not substantiated by documentary evidence, but based upon vague hearsay and unverifiable rumors, or prove to be just emanations of wishful thinking. The author, *e.g.*, will find it hard to prove—though it may be true—" that public opinion in Germany is hardening very rapidly against the Nazi regime," or that " Goering believes that the only hope for Europe lies in an Anglo-German alliance against Russia." Concluding we may say that Lunn's book will appeal to the taste of the popular American reader much more than the work of Foerster, which makes hard reading. (HENRY J. BRUEHL)

HAAS, WILLIAM H. (Ed.). *The American Empire. A Study of the Outlying Territories of the United States.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 408. $4.00.) Since "Seward's Folly" the United States has acquired a large and important overseas empire. There has previously been no concerted attempt to describe the character and problems of this empire as an integrated whole. The editor of this book, with the aid of W. O. Blanchard, Luis J. Borja, John W. Coulter, Isaac J. Cox, Cornelio C. Cruz, Otis W. Freeman, Rafael Picó, and Earl B. Shaw, has remedied the defect. The volume achieves a degree of unity frequently absent in collaborative enterprises of the sort. Although not a history of our transmarine possessions, the historical factor is not disregarded. Each area under our control receives separate consideration. People, geography, climate, resources, and social problems, rather than political events and trends, are emphasized. Introductory and concluding chapters by Cox and Haas on "The Era of Overseas Expansion" and "Manifest Destiny in Greater America" tie together effectively the separate chapters by the other contributors on Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, the Panama Canal Zone, Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippine Commonwealth. (JOHN J. MENG)

HACKER, LOUIS M. *The Triumph of American Capitalism.* (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1940. Pp. x, 460. $3.00.) Professor Hacker has given us a brief but extremely well-written account of the economic forces and concepts which have shaped the United States from colonial times to the end of the nineteenth century. It is to be regretted that he did not carry his analysis into the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the picture he gives of the rise of capitalism in America leaves little doubt in the mind of the reader as to the final and inevitable end of the process in state capitalism, or one could say as well—state socialism.

After giving an excellent analysis of the origins and development of capitalism in America, the author, however, reverses his entire approach in the last two chapters. It would almost seem that the last chapter in particular was added simply in order to insure the publication of the book. Otherwise the conclusions the critical reader would draw from the book might be too devastating to our present economic order. As we enter a period of crisis in civilization, as hysteria mounts, there is an increasing reluctance on the part of publishers to accept any book which takes too critical an approach in analyzing our economic structure. But if Professor Hackers' "pollyannaism" and wishful thinking in the last chapter rests on any scientific basis, he has concealed this basis from his readers in all the preceding pages of his book.

The chapters on the Civil War are particularly interesting. Much of the material in other chapters seems almost like a paraphrase from Charles A. Beard, but in these chapters the author bears out Sombart's thesis concerning the relationship of war to industrial capitalism. Professor Hacker makes out a strong case for dating the origin of industrial capitalism in our country with the outbreak of the Civil War. He shows clearly the tremendous stake involved in a Union victory which really meant the capture of the state by the northern industrialists from the southern planters.

For Catholics it is interesting to note that Professor Hacker shows clearly the incompatibility of extreme capitalism with the ethical teachings of the Catholic Church. He also bears out the studies of the Lynds and others in showing that while the American dream of opportunity remains as a dream, the practical possibility of attaining that opportunity is increasingly difficult, and is in fact hopeless for the vast majority of Americans. But he seems afraid to draw any conclusions from this and other important signs that industrial and financial capitalism have come of age. Some readers will take exception too to his emphasis on economic determinism as the major force in American history. But after all he has written an economic history and is probably as aware as most of us of the other forces in American history which have shaped the United States of our time. This is a useful book but it leaves much unsaid. However, the intelligent reader can draw his own conclusions and this reviewer for one does not share Professor Hacker's blind confidence in the approaching state capitalism managed by a state bureaucracy. This after all is no real solution at all to the pressing problems of a decadent capitalism. (WALTER J. MARX)

HANSEN, MARCUS LEE. *The Immigrant in American History.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 230. $2.50.) Here are gathered nine essays in which the late Professor Hansen developed his larger views on immigration. Edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, several of them are published here for the first time; five formed a part of a course of public lectures given at the University College, University of London, while the remainder were published in whole or in part in various learned journals before the author's death.

As Professor Schlesinger points out in his preface, Professor Hansen brought to his studies not only assidous research and a musing mind, but the resources of personal and family experience. He was the son of foreign-born parents and as a youth observed the Americanizing process at work in the Middle West. Here he saw exemplified to a marked degree a fact which is still lost on many who are students in the American historical field: that nearly one half of this country's white inhabitants are descended from post-colonial foreign stock. His interest lay with the last century, however, which gave to the country millions of Europeans who in turn modified the Anglo-Saxon culture which they found here, while at the same time experienced a change in their own lives because of the new world of which they had become a part. Professor Hansen's treatment of this chapter of national history is telescopic, it is true, yet he does not generalize without giving examples, nor does he hesitate to challenge accepted views. But he was the first to recognize that all judgments had to be tentative until all the evidence on the subject in question is at hand. No one knew better than he of the necessity to further investigate the subject of immigration and colonization for a true picture of the United States. This is a desideratum also in the field of American Church history, which fortunately is also being recognized by a widening group of scholars, clerical and lay. This book should be a stimulus to these and others interested in the history of the United States.

There are a table of contents, an editor's foreword, and an index. The format is exceptionally good. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

HARDY, EDWARD ROCHIE, JR. *Militant in Earth: Twenty Centuries of the Spread of Christianity.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. vii, 255. $3.00.) The purpose of this work is to give a general survey of the expansion of the Christian religion. In particular, it is a summarized history of Christian missions and an effort "to place Christianity in the context of general world history". It is not a textbook, but rather a manual; not an academic source-study, but rather a literary presentation of historical data.

Judging from criticisms made during some of the discussions at the last meeting of the American Historical Association regarding over emphasis of the secular trend and material influence on the development of historical events during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance ("so-called for lack of a better term") to the almost complete elimination of the ecclesiastico-religious, Dr. Hardy's book is a welcome contribution towards the reinculcation of spiritual values in world affairs. The author has concentrated in the six chapters of his work the christianizing influence on world events during nearly 2000 years. He gives us all meat-facts, dates, places, objective rather than subjective historical evaluation. In his presentation he is factual kind and unprejudiced. He speaks in an appreciative, sympathetic tone of the contributions of the Catholic Church to the spread of the Christian faith, education and culture; of her popes, missionaries and religious. He deplores our "education in America, where the slogan 'separation of Church and State' has sometimes meant the establishment through education of a Protestantism watered down to a vague idealism" (p. 230).

Not every reader, however, will easily subscribe to the author's viewpoint that the supreme court should not have condemned the followers of "Jehova's Witnesses" for refusing to salute the American flag, because through non-condemnation the unpatriotism of their practices would have become the more flagrant (p. 231); or, in view of Christ's prayer for unity (cf. *John* 17: 11, 21, 22; *Acts* 4: 32) and of the essential necessity of truth being only one, that "the keen divergences between Christians today are not regrettable; for the appearance of difference is a sign of vitality" (p. 232); or that the "detailed suggestions" of the Laymen's Missionary Inquiry of 1931, as embodied in their report, *Re-Thinking Missions,* were "excellent" because "they were accompanied by an attitude which preferred to think of Christianity as an influence rather than a fellowship" (p. 233). Nevertheless, the author does see in "the new emphasis of the visible Church one source of the Protestant movement for organic union to promote practical efficiency and to abolish meaningless divisions" in a new form of "Evangelical Catholicism". (RAPHAEL M. HUBER)

HEER, P. GALL, O.S.B. *Johannes Mabillon und die Schweizer Benediktiner.* (St. Gallen: Verlag Leobuchhandlung. 1938. Pp. xvi, 470. Fr. 7.50.) Dr. Heer's volume is, according to the subtitle, a contribution to the history of Benedictine scholarship of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mabillon's scientific relations with the Benedictine monasteries of Switzerland form the subject of the author. The introduction gives us the history of the Con-

gregation of St. Maur and a picture of Mabillon as an historian. The first part of the book describes monastic life and scientific work in the congregation of the Swiss Benedictines during the seventeenth century. The different paragraphs of this chapter deal with St. Gallen, Einsiedeln, Pfäfers, Disentis, Muri, Rheinau, Fischingen, Engelberg, and Maria-Stein. The second part contains Mabillon's relations with these monasteries. The third part treats of historiography amongst the Swiss Benedictines in the time after Mabillon to show how Mabillon's influence was felt. The author concludes his volume by answering the question: what did Mabillon receive from the Swiss Benedictines and what did he give to them? At the same time he explains the lack of a determining influence on the part of Mabillon with regard to their monasteries. The addition of a list of the unprinted sources, of the printed material and literature, and of the letters of which the author made use will be appreciated by the reader as also the index. It was a difficult task that the author had to master. The material he had to explore was widely scattered. Besides there were no scientific investigations regarding Switzerland and its Benedictine tradition made before him. The great biographies of Mabillon written by Chavin de Malan Jadart, de Broglie, and Bäumer, mention Mabillon's relations to Switzerland rarely. The present volume proves that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cover the period in which the tradition of Swiss, Bavarian, and Austrian monasticism was formed. (JOHN QUASTEN)

JACKSON, FREDERICK JOHN FOAKES. *A History of Church History. Studies of some Historians of the Christian Church.* (Cambridge, Eng.: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd. 1939. Pp. vii, 184. 7s/6d.) Dr. Foakes Jackson has written this volume of studies of some historians of the Christian Church to mark the golden jubilee of his gaining the Lightfoot Scholarship in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge, and he dedicated it to the memory of the founder. He offers them as a guide to the study of the broad principles of the history of the Christian Church. With this end in view, in his first essay, "The Origin and Development of Ecclesiastical History", the writer has endeavored to present the general problem. In the second he has discussed the origin and growth of the canon of the New Testament, the most significant event of church history. He concludes this chapter with the remark: "It appears that within a century after the Resurrection and Pentecost, there was formed a collection of Christian books which with a very few exceptions were universally accepted in every part of the Roman empire and beyond its borders. How this came to pass can only be conjectured. All we have any knowledge of is the supreme fact that it happened—how, we know not." Four essays are devoted to the Greek writers of the early Church. The first has the title: "The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus and other Church Orders". It shows the importance of these orders for the rise of church law. The reader will be astonished to see Philo of Alexandria, to whom the fourth chapter is dedicated, among the historians of the Church. Chapter V deals with Eusebius and his predecessors and Chapter VI with the Greek historians after Eusebius. An essay on St. Augustine's philosophy of history forms the transition to the western writers, Gregory of Tours, Adamnan, and

the Venerable Bede. Anna Comnena represents both the later Byzantine and the crusading Church. The English representatives, Burnet and Gibbon, are followed by a discussion of the "book recommended by Bishop Lightfoot", with particular reference to Ranke's work. This brief summary shows that the title of the book, *A History of Church History,* is in a certain way misleading. It is a collection of essays, portions of which have appeared in England in the *Hibbert Journal* and the *Modern Churchman,* and in the United States in the *Chronicle.* The book has the merit of being eminently readable. (JOHN QUASTEN)

KEPPEL, L. *Blessed Rose Philippine Duchesne.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1940. Pp. vii, 118. $1.25.) This little book by an English member of the Religious of the Sacred Heart was written at the time of Mother Duchesne's beatification, which took place, May 12, 1940. Here again is told the story of that remarkable woman of Dauphiny who became a Visitandine before the French revolution, was forced to leave her convent when it was closed, joined the newly formed society of the Sacred Heart at the invitation of Mother Barat once peace returned, came to America in 1818 to found the Society here and to minister to the Indians, who experienced incredible hardships, labored incessantly, suffered great wrongs patiently, and who died as she had lived, in the odor of sanctity, nearly a hundred years ago. This little book should do much to spread devotion to her whom her devotés hope to see canonized. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

MCALLISTER, ANNA SHANNON. *In Winter We Flourish. Life and Letters of Sarah Peter.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1939. Pp. xi, 398. $3.50.) One of the least known, and yet one of the most remarkable women in American Catholic history, was Sarah Worthington King Peter (1800-1877), the daughter of Governor Thomas Worthington of Ohio and his wife, Eleanor Van Swearingen. Born in Chillicothe, Ohio, of Virginia Protestant lineage, she married first, Edward King, son of Senator Rufus King of New York, and after his death, the scholarly William Peter, then consul in Philadelphia. Upon the death of Mr. Peter she took up her residence in Cincinnati. Shortly afterwards she became interested in Catholicism.

The conversion of Sarah Peter and the years which followed are perhaps the most fascinating chapters in her story. Although she had been troubled in soul since a certain journey she had made to the Holy Land and had confided to Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati that she was no longer satisfied with Protestantism, it was the series of conversations she had had with the Venerable John Nepomucen Neumann, the future bishop of Philadelphia, while both were enroute to Europe in 1854, that decided her to become a Catholic. Received into the Church in Rome, upon her return to America she began to devote her time and fortune to religion.

She was then fifty-four. Immediately she opened schools, endowed hospitals, aided struggling churches and missions. She loved the poor, and when the Civil War broke out she equipped a hospital boat and then went on it to nurse the soldiers after the battle of Pittsburgh Landing. She also cared for the Confederate prisoners in the Cincinnati prison hospital. But perhaps her

principal claim to distinction is the rôle she played in the history of the American sisterhoods. Instrumental in bringing to Cincinnati the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, the Sisters of the Poor of Saint Francis, and the Sisters of Mercy, she herself wished to enter the Franciscans. Archbishop Purcell, at her funeral, after calling her a queen of America and a queen of heaven, said: "I do believe that we have lying before us the remains of a saint, and I would rather myself pray to her than for her."

There are a number of illustrations, copious notes and a good index in this book, which is an important contribution to Catholic Americana. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

NOONAN, CARROLL JOHN, S.S. *Nativism in Connecticut, 1829-1860.* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1938. Pp. vi, 351. $2.00.) This is another dissertation, dealing with the Nativist and Know-Nothing movement, prepared under the able direction of Professor Richard J. Purcell of the Catholic University of America. Father Noonan has prefaced his main work by three chapters on the background of the anti-Catholicism of the colonial period in Connecticut. This background is a detailed discussion of specific instances of anti-Catholicism. Following these is a long and excellent discussion of the political events in Connecticut from 1800-1860. Father Noonan records the break-up of Federalism, the rise of the Democrats, the temporary influence of the temperance and Know-Nothing movements, the more lasting influence of the slavery controversy, and sets it all against the background of national politics from newspapers. He has included a chapter on the immigration problem and on the rise of the Catholic Church in Connecticut. He has thus given us a well-rounded basis for a later study which will discuss the cultural background of these movements such as Professor Billington's work. He has appraised Nativism in Connecticut as anti-foreignism and then anti-Catholicism, but shows that it broke against the treacherous shoals of the slavery controversy. Nativism as a party in Connecticut never attained the success it did in some of the other states and was soon submerged in the rising Republican tide with which it sought to identify itself.

A state entering the federal union in 1788, Connecticut had an unusually high percentage of English, was largely under the domination of the Congregational Church, and thereby had one of the oldest traditions of religious unity and control. This state, unique until 1840 for the solidarity of population, suddenly faced the problems of a rising tide of Irish and German immigrants. Yet it had less serious and frequent outbreaks of real anti-Catholic violence than some of its neighbors. In spite of the fact that the author of *Maria Monk* was a resident of the state, that a Connecticut minister was instrumental in changing the Philo-Italian Society into the Christian Alliance, that the feeling against natives ran high in New England, 1846-1848, anti-Catholicism in Connecticut actually gave way to anti-foreignism as the decade of the forties progressed. In the following decade, except for a momentary antagonism on the part of the Know-Nothings, the Catholic Church was not seriously restricted in its activities because of the scuttling of the Know-Nothing movement over the slavery issue. This unusual state of affairs has been judiciously set forth—though not as explicitly as one would like—by the author in his well-written dissertation. (ARTHUR J. RILEY)

PFEIFFER-BELLI, WOLFGANG. *Thomas Murner im Schweizer Glaubenskampf.* [*Corpus Catholicorum, 25.*] (Münster, i/W: Aschendorff. 1939. Pp. xxxviii, 91. 4.28 RM.) This issue of the *Corpus Catholicorum* contains three controversial tracts of Thomas Murner, the highly gifted Swiss satirist of the time of the religious revolt. It was a good idea to publish these almost unknown works because they reveal Thomas Murner not only as a grim humorist but as a serious religious protagonist of sincere enthusiasm and perfect knowledge of Scripture. His works are of importance for the reconstruction of the historical background of this effervescent epoch of change. Lessing is right: everybody who wants to study the German language in its development, who wants to know about the customs of that time should read Murner's works. The author has added a good introduction and commentary to his publication. The first treatise, "Ein brieff den Strengen eren not festen Fursuhtigen Ersamen wysen der XII örter einer löblichen eydtgnoschaft", was published in 1526 and is nothing else than a letter addressed to the meeting of the Swiss representatives at Einsiedeln on May 2, 1526. Of the same year is the second work: "Ein worhafftigs verantwurten der hochgelorten doctores und herren", which contains a sharp controversy with Zwingli. The third tract, "Hie würt angezeigt das unchristlich freuel, ungelört und unrechtlich ufrieffen und fürnemen einer loblichen herrschafft von Bern" of the year 1528, is a bitter criticism of the magistrate of Bern. (JOHN QUASTEN)

PIKE, JOSEPH B. *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers: Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 436. $7.50.) The title of the volume is translated from the second title of the *Policraticus: De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum.* It fits these books very well: the first three deal with hunting, gaming, music, acting, superstition, and flattery; the selections from the last two books turn from frivolities to the footprints of the ancient philosophers. The present volume together with John Dickinson's *The Statesman's Book* makes available a complete English translation of John of Salisbury's great work. As Dr. Dickinson points out in a foreword to the new volume, the parts herewith translated throw much light on John's way of thinking but little on his times. He draws his material from classical and patristic authors.

Professor Pike has done an excellent job of translating. The many passages in verse including John's versified introduction to the *Policraticus* (the shorter *Entheticus*) are rendered into English verse. The notes identify and comment on the numerous sources of the work. However, they make little mention of modern literature; e.g. Lynn Thorndike's works are not cited. In the notes Rashdall is misspelled (p. 27); for *praetringit* read *praestringit* (p. 39); for *Senopigia* read *Scenopegia* (p. 62); Boeotia is misspelled (p. 77); for *canonics* read *canons* (p. 147). (ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER)

PRESCOTT, H. F. M. *A Spanish Tudor: The Life of Bloody Mary.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 562. $5.00.) This distinguished biography is written from an advocate's point of view, yet it is by

no means propaganda. Using neither special pleading nor suppression, the author provides a revolutionary study of her who for centuries has been known to many as "Bloody Mary." But just as the more sympathetic yet equally false epithet of "Good Queen Bess", so often given to her half-sister, Queen Elizabeth, is fortunately passing with a more intelligent interpretation of English history, so too is this one ascribed to Mary. This book does much to justify so happy a change, for here is presented the naturally clement woman, who Mary was, pictured as one who was urged on to those unfortunate killings for which she has been held responsible because of political expediency, and at the same time honest, loyal, courageous, but unfortunately sometimes much too trusting. Indeed, the Mary of this book emerges as what history is beginning to present her to have been—the greatest of the Tudors. For none had greater obstacles to surmount, nor more harm to undo once the throne had been reached, than this woman who had been declared a bastard at an early age, who had been disowned by her father for many years, who had been mistrusted by her brother all during his reign, who knew what treason was from those most near to her, yet who doggedly worked for England and for God against odds which to many others would have seemed insurmountable.

Undoubtedly the title of this book will appear to some as unfortunate, as it might tend to strengthen the conviction of those who still believe that because of the nationality of Mary's mother and of the man she married, Mary was less English than Spanish. And this despite the fact that there is not a shred of evidence that Mary ever preferred the interests of her mother's or her husband's native country to that of England. Miss Prescott's *Life* is well documented, has a good bibliography and copious notes, and may be considered a distinguished defense of one of the most maligned characters in all history. It may even be looked upon as definitive.

There are several illustrations, an interesting map of Westminster from Agas' Map of London, the original of which was in the Guildhall library, but unfortunately a rather brief index. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

SIMPSON, W. DOUGLAS, M.A., D.LITT. *Saint Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland.* (London and Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1940. Pp. xii, 112. 10s.) It is a fact that hitherto St. Ninian has been regarded either through the eyes of a mediaeval hagiographer or as if he were a product of the Celtic church as it developed in Wales and Ireland in the sixth century after these countries were cut off from the Roman world by the Teutonic conquest of Gaul and Britain. Because both these views are equally distorted the author of this little essay makes an attempt to reconstruct the historical background and to consider St. Ninian for what he was, namely, first a Romano-British provincial of the late fourth century and secondly the first recorded apostle of the country we now call Scotland. Against the background of his times his figure emerges as a wholly typical one; and his mission fits with perfect conformity into the general religious and political circumstances of Roman Britain. Thanks mainly to the successful wielding, in recent years, of the archaeologist's spade, it is now possible to reconstruct the culture of that time. For the second part of his book which

gives a picture of St. Ninian as the first apostle of Scotland, the author keeps in strict accordance with the explicit statement of our primary authority, Bede. His statements are furthermore in complete harmony with all that we know about the general conditions and with such other lines of evidence—literary, archaeological, and topographical—as are available to us. It is a little strange that the notes to the text have been divided into two classes. Those of general interest are printed at the foot of the page and those which are merely citations of authorities have been relegated to the end of the book. The reviewer does not think that this arrangement adds to the convenience of readers. Fourteen excellent illustrations and two maps are valuable additions to this interesting book. It is to be hoped that the author will carry his study further. (JOHN QUASTEN)

SMITH, ROBERT SIDNEY. *The Spanish Guild Merchant.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 167. $2.50.) As the sub-title states, this is "A History of the Consulado, 1250-1700," which the author designates a "dual organization of the merchant guild and the guild-court." The study is an excellent piece of historical investigation, heavily documented and clearly presented. In six chapters the author traces the history of the merchant guild as it functioned in Spain and Spanish America to the end of the Hapsburg era. Students of Spanish-American history will find particularly interesting and valuable the sixth chapter which deals with "The Seville Guild and American Trade." The seventh and last chapter, devoted to a "Critique of the Guild-Court Organization," is a scholarly appreciation of an economic and social institution which flourished at a time when "religion was generally more highly exteemed than business pursuits" (p. 113), and which continued to flourish in Spain and Spanish America long after it succumbed elsewhere in Europe—one reason, obviously, why in non-Spanish regions of America it never gained a foothold. The study shows once again that a knowledge of pre-Columbian Spain is indispensable for an adequate understanding of Spanish America in colonial times. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

VAZQUEZ, ALBERTO and S. SELDON ROSE. *Algunas Cartas de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1935. Pp. xlv, 426. $3.00.) This is a collection of 152 letters, written by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza between the years 1538 and 1552, when he was serving Emperor Charles V as Spanish ambassador in Venice, Rome, and Siena. Seventy-one of the letters are addressed to Francisco de los Cobos and eighty-one to Antonio Perrenot de Granville, Bishop of Arras and later cardinal. Both men stood high in the affairs of state and enjoyed the esteem and confidence of Charles V. The letters here published are not official reports on state affairs, however. To quote the editors, ". . . . we have deliberately selected from among his letters only a limited number, in which their author doffs the official *magnificencia* of ambassador and writes with all the spontaneity of a decidedly human being" (p. vi). It is this that lends them such charm and value, affording as they do passing glimpses into the heart of a busy statesman and into the cloak-room of international diplomats and strategists. Our knowledge of history would probably be different in many ways from what

it is, were the writing of it based more particularly on letters such as are published in this volume.

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, by the way, was the brother of Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy of Mexico (1535-1550). Students of Spanish-American history will, therefore, be glad to find in this collection several interesting references to Mexico's first viceroy, whom Diego was eager to join in his new world venture and to this end tried to enlist the influence which Francisco de los Cobos enjoyed with the emperor. Letters which Diego received from his brother in Mexico are frequently mentioned. Apparently these were not consulted by Professor Aiton when he wrote his excellent biography of Antonio de Mendoza. They ought to prove interesting reading and, if still preserved, their publication by the editors of the present volume would certainly be welcomed by all students of Spanish-American history. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

WAUGH, EVELYN. *Mexico: An Object Lesson.* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1939. Pp. 338. $2.50.) The title under which this book was published in England—*Robbery Under the Law*—is an indication of its contents. It is valuable in that it reflects the general reaction of any conservative visitor to Mexico. The author states in the very beginning that he was a conservative when he went to Mexico and that what he saw there strengthened his opinions. After giving a short history of the country he analyzes the present political arrangement, the army, the professions, and the oil expropriations. A large part of the book deals with relationships between the United States and Mexico. Mr. Waugh is convinced of the general stupidity back of the dealings of our State Department with the governing cliques in Mexico, of the disaster and suffering which this has brought upon the Mexican people, and of the intensification of this deplorable situation by the movement toward the "left" of each succeeding experiment. His chapter on the Church in Mexico is excellent, whereas his final chapter, or postscript, should be read by all interested in world peace, and especially by those interested in the preservation of America. "There is nothing, except ourselves, to stop our countries from becoming like Mexico. That is the moral, for us, of her decay." This is the object lesson of this worthwhile study. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

WEYL, NATHANIEL and SYLVIA. *The Reconquest of Mexico. The Years of Lázaro Cárdenas.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. 394. $3.00.) Vividly, almost luridly, the smoldering ruins of the old regime of the Diaz dictatorship are made to serve as the background for a eulogistic biography of Lázaro Cárdenas, the master mind of Mexico, according to the euthusiastic authors of the *Reconquest*. Cárdenas and his government rise out of the chaos like the avengers of the Lord to carry forward all the worthwhile ideals of the revolution. After twenty-six years of groping to find a solution for the economic, industrial, agricultural, social, and educational problems inherent in the evolution of a new social order, this leader sternly sweeps away all obstacles: the chains of tradition, the restraints of religion, the bonds of capitalism, and the fetters of a feudal land system, to accomplish, or at least to start to accomplish, the goals of the revolution.

But the account is unconvincing to the critical reader. Well written, in a forceful and lively style, nevertheless the bias of the authors is evident and their partiality a bit boring. As the reader progresses, it becomes clear that they see with intimate satisfaction how Cárdenas and his administration have attempted to carry out a grim program of retribution. In the name of social justice, however, the rights of minorities, and even unorganized majorities, are ignored, and recourse denied them to the democratic processes invoked so vociferously by those in power to justify their arbitrary acts.

One would have to search far to find a more vitriolic attack on the Church, capitalism, and vested rights. But aside from the strong sympathy of the authors for the proletariat of Mexico and their warm admiration for Cárdenas and his achievements, the book contains valuable information on the gigantic struggle that has convulsed Mexico for thirty years. The origin, development, and present status of the agrarian movement, the rise of trade unionism, the natural resources conservation program, and the expropriation of the oil industry are traced with intelligence and understanding. There are useful statistics cited, which, however, must be taken with proper discrimination. Informative in many respects, the work is seriously marred by its partisanship. (Carlos E. Castañeda)

Willard, James F. and William A. Morris (Eds.). *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336.* Volume I: *Central and Prerogative Administration.* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1940. Pp. xx, 467. $5.00 [to members of the Academy, $4.00].) The abundance of source material pertaining to administration in mediaeval England has proved a baffling problem to scholars; even so great a genius as F. W. Maitland stood in awe of the superhuman task of mastering the contents of these records. As a partial solution of the difficulty, in 1929 the late Professor James F. Willard proposed that a select group of trained historians make an intensive study of the matter relating to their specialties for a single decade, with the intention of displaying the actual operation of the more important governmental departments and institutions. The proposal was immediately adopted by the Mediaeval Academy, and Mr. Willard was commissioned to carry it out; until his death in 1935 he labored indefatigably upon the project, and much of its ultimate success has been due to his effort. The period decided upon (from January, 1327 to the close of the year 1336) probably gives as good a cross-section as any that might have been chosen. Research and publication were made possible by generous financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation of New York in conjunction with the American Council of Learned Societies.

This monumental enterprise is to be completed in three volumes. The second volume will be concerned with financial administration, and the third volume with judicial and local administration. The volume under review deals with central and prerogative administration; to it the present very competent editor, William A. Morris, has contributed an introduction on the basic agencies of central control, the most original section being that devoted to the privy seal. There follow, in order, chapters on "Parliament" by Theodore F. Plucknett, on the "King's Council" by James F. Baldwin, on the "Chancery" by Bertie Wilkinson, on the "King's Wardrobe and House-

hold" by J. H. Johnson, on the "Queen's Household" by Hilda Johnstone, on the "Machinery of Diplomatic Intercourse" by Henry S. Lucas, on the "Army and Navy" by Albert E. Prince, and on the "Forests" by Nellie Neilson. The result of this collaboration is not only a remarkably vivid picture of the English government in operation, but a clearer understanding of the nature and scope of the royal prerogative.

It is a matter of regret that Professor Willard found it necessary to omit from the plan of the project a study of the administrative duties of the clergy who played an important rôle in the government of the time; the deficiency is partly supplied by Baldwin, p. 143, Wilkinson, pp. 197-200, Johnstone, pp. 268-272, Lucas, pp. 310-312, etc. A brief notice cannot do justice to the contents of this admirable volume. To mention a few items: the reviewer was much impressed by Theodore Plucknett's refutation of Richardson's and Sayles' theories concerning the difference between a great council and a parliament as well as by the new elements on the queen's council in Miss Johnstone's study, and by the comprehensiveness of Miss Neilson's investigations into the royal forests (accompanied by five maps, showing locations). For its thoroughness Lucas' chapter is also worthy of special mention.

This is an indispensable reference work for courses in English constitutional history. (RAYMOND J. GRAY)

WILLIAMS, MARGARET, M.A., OXON. *Word-Hoard: Passages from Old English Literature for the Sixth to the Eleventh Centuries.* Illustrated by Anne A. Pracny. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1940. Pp. xv, 459. $4.00.) According to Mother Williams who has translated and arranged the materials of this volume, the definition *Word-Hoard* "is not history of Old English Literature, nor a criticism of it, nor even an exposition of that distant culture. It is an attempt to let Old English speak for itself." Yet in letting Old English speak for itself against a background of commentary necessary for its understanding and in translations whose simple literalness belie the skill and appreciation that went into their making, the author-translator has achieved for her work something of each of the three characteristics modestly disclaimed in her preface: history, criticism, and exposition. As a result the work fulfills two long felt needs: a text for a course in Old English in translation, and a popular introduction to the field of Old English. The sound order of its arrangement, and its comprehensiveness should assure it success in the text book field; the enthusiasm for Old English literature which shines out on every page should lead many a reader to an investigation of the originals for himself.

However much the individual critic may differ with Mother Williams on matters of emphasis in selection or on disputed points of scholarship, he can scarcely refrain from praising the work as a whole. It reads like a labor of love. Sheed and Ward are to be commended on the attractive format of the work, particularly for including the starkly simple and clean line drawings of Anne A. Pracny. (SISTER M. EMMANUEL COLLINS)

WINSHIP, GEORGE PARKER. *Printing in the Fifteenth Century.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. Pp. xx, 158. $2.00.) The present volume is rather a work on fifteenth century printers than printing. The author follows the printers all over Europe, passing over the so-called frontier countries: Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal. A number of printers are omitted owing to their relative insignificance. Mr. Winship has some harsh words for the books printed at Rome and at Cologne (pp. 58, 100). He makes his readers believe that the "conservative ecclesiastical authorities attempted to restrain the upsurge of spiritual feeling which made itself felt throughout all classes" (p. 142). Aside from minor criticisms, however, the reviewer can recommend the book as the best we have in English on fifteenth century printers. We are particularly grateful to the author for the information about the abbreviated Bible in Spanish which was printed in 1492 and is preserved now in the unique copy in possession of Mr. A. S. W. Rosenbach of New York (facs. facing p. 126). (JOHN M. LENHART)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Chronology, Synchronology, and History. A. F. Pollard (*History*, Dec.).
Does History Repeat Itself. Raymond Corrigan, S.J. (*Historical Bulletin*, Jan.).
Filtering the Facts [Method]. Martin Hastings, S.J. (*ibid.*).
The Pagan State, Ancient and Modern. Paul G. Steinbicker (*ibid.*).
Folk Movements, Old World and New. John F. Bannon, S.J. (*ibid.*).
Los fundamentos del derecho internacional en la última Encíclica del Papa. L. Izaga (*Razón y Fe*, Nov.).
Summi Pontificatus and International Law. Jerome O'Rorke, O.P. (*Australasian Catholic Record*, Jan.).
The Sources of Marxian Thought. James F. Hanley, S.J. (*Historical Bulletin*, Mar.).
History in the Classroom. W. B. Faherty, S.J. (*ibid.*).
Burke and the Moral Basis of Liberty. Moorhouse F. X. Millar (*Thought*, Mar.).
Ends and Means of a More Christian Society. Henry Sloane Coffin (*Yale Review*, Winter 1941).
A Forgotten Champion of the Corporative System [Father Franz Hitze]. F. P. Kenkel (*Social Justice Review*, Mar.).
Justice and Peace in St. Augustine. Andrew Beck (*Tablet*, Jan. 18).
St. Augustine as Revealed in His Letters. Sister M. Emily, S.C.N. (*Catholic World*, Jan.).
Palestine under Roman Control, 63 B. C. to 66 A. D. Mgr. P. Canon Boylan (*Studies*, Dec.).
Saint Pacianus on the Efficacy of Episcopal Absolution (concluded). Clarence McAuliffe, S.J. (*Theological Studies*, Feb.).
The Location of Constantine's Gold Cross. Augustine C. Wand, S.J. (*ibid.*).
Das "Opus Dei" des hl. Benedikt und seine Stellung in der Entwicklung der Liturgie und des Mönchtums. Dom Wilhelm Fink (*Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*, Heft 1, 1940).
St. Gregory the Great as Musician. Dom Alphege Shebbeare (*Downside Review*, Oct. 1940).
Le Commentaire d'Eudes Rigaud, O.F.M., sur le IV^{me} Livre de Sentences. F. M. Henquinet, O.F.M. (*Collectanea Franciscana*, Oct.).
Die gedruckten Schriften des Ehrw. P. Marcus von Aviano, O.F.M. Cap., und deren Verbreitung. II Die Missionsansprachen des P. Marcus ausserhalb Italiens [1680-84]. Maria Heyret (*ibid.*).
The War and the Catholic Orientals. Donald Attwater (*Tablet*, Feb. 8).

EUROPEAN

The Norman Communes Once More. Sidney R. Packard (*American Historical Review*, Jan.).
The European Crisis and the Downfall of the French Republic. Yves R. Simon (*Review of Politics*, Jan.).
Pieter Brueghel the Elder. W. R. Jeudwine (*Dublin Review*, Jan.).
Francisco de Vitoria and his *Relectio de Jure Belli*. Romanus Rios, O.S.B. (*ibid.*).

Bibliografía del XIX Centenario de la Virgen del Pilar. A Valle (*Razón y Fe*, Dec.).
La Virgen del Pilar y America. C. Bayle (*ibid.*, Jan.).
La Pedagogía humanista de S. Ignacio y la España Imperial de su época. P. Leturia (*Razón y Fe*, Dec. and Jan.).
La formación religiosa superior: A propósito de la Asamblea de la "Fundación Balmesiana." P. Meseguer (*ibid.*, Dec.).
A las puertas de un centenario: Un catálogo manuscrito de los españoles y portugueses que asistieron al Concilio de Trente. S. González (*ibid.*).
Zum Langobardengesetz, neue Bruchstücke der ältesten Handschrift des "Edictus Rothari". Dom Alban Dold (*Deutsches Archiv*, Heft 1, 1940).
Die sizilische Thronkandidatur des Prinzen Edmund von England. Alois Wachtel (*ibid.*).
Die Appellationsschriften König Ludwigs IV in den Jahren 1323-24. Friederich Bock (*ibid.*).
Kanzleischule und Hofkapelle. Hans-Walter Klewitz (*ibid.*).
Der Kronschatz Heinrichs VI. Max Buchner (*Gelbe Hefte*, Nov.).
Die Schicksalwende der deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter. Max Buchner (*ibid.*, Dec.).
Die Unteilbarkeit des Reiches: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte Deutschlands und Frankreichs. Gerd Tellenbach (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 163, Heft I, Nov. 1940).
Czechs, Slovaks and Catholicism (A Slovak Priest looks at his Country). Mgr. P. Macháček (*Tablet*, Feb. 15).
The Position of Poland: Past and Present. Antoni Tarnowski (*Catholic World*, Mar.).
Christopher Meidel and the First Norwegian Contacts with Quakerism. Henry J. Cadbury (*Harvard Theological Review*, Jan.).
Religion in the U. S. S. R. Ludmilla N. Rklitsky (*Catholic World*, Jan.).

BRITISH EMPIRE

A Saga of the Anglo-Saxons. C. L. Wrenn (*History*, Dec.).
The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism. Helen M. Cam (*ibid.*).
English Monks and English Friars. W. A. Pantin (*Dublin Review*, Jan.).
Walter Map's *Sadius and Galo* (R. E. Bennett, *Speculum*, Jan.).
The Formal Judgments on the Traitors of 1322. George Sayles (*ibid.*).
Chaucer and the Music of the Fourteenth Century. C. C. Olson (*ibid.*).
The Reconstruction of an English Carmelite Missal (*ibid.*).
The Clerical Status of Chaucer's Alchemist. Marie P. Hamilton (*ibid.*).
Cadwalader, Arthur, and Brutus in the Wigmore Manuscript. Mary E. Giffin (*ibid.*).
Business Training in Medieval Oxford. H. G. Richardson (*American Historical Review*, Jan.).
Eva, Recluse, and the Feast of Corpus Christi. W. Vowles (*Downside Review*, Oct. 1940).
Grimbald of St. Bertin's. Philip Grierson (*English Historical Review*, Oct.).
Manuscript Year Book for 1-10 Edward III (1327-37). Ralph V. Rogers (*ibid.*).
Theological Schools in Medieval England. A. G. Little (*ibid.*).
A Household Expense Roll, 1328. G. H. Fowler (*ibid.*).
The Administration of Gild Property in Coventry in the Fifteenth Century. Levi Fox (*ibid.*).
Richard Rolle—Englishman. Stanley B. James (*Clergy Review*, Jan.).
The Anglican Papalists. Thomas Holland (*ibid.*).
The English Reformation [Conflicting opinions in Gasquet and Constant]. Sister M. Paul Fitzgerald, S.C.L. (*Historical Bulletin*, Mar.).
Amen to Paternoster Row [Past and present destruction of ancient parts of London]. Philip Hughes (*Tablet*, Feb. 8).
Problems of Empire, Roman and British. Herbert H. Coulson (*Historical Bulletin*, Jan.).

Early Irish Jesuit Educators. T. Corcoran, S.J. (*Studies*, Dec.).
A Neglected Corner of Irish History [Materials in the various state archives at Paris on Irish history during the French Revolutionary period]. Richard Davis (*ibid.*).
Rudolf Thurneysen: 1857-1940. John Ryan, S.J. (*ibid.*).
New Zealand and Ireland: A Parallel Study. George O'Brien (*ibid.*).
The Treaty of Waitangi. Trevor Williams (*History*, Dec.).

AMERICAN

Hennepin's Description of Louisiana. Jean Delanglez (*Mid-America*, Jan.).
Captain Anza and the Case of Father Campos. Peter M. Dunne (*ibid.*).
L'Oeuvre de la France dans la vallée du Mississippi. J. M. Carrière (*Canada français*, Jan.).
"La Mutualité" chez les franco-américains. Adrien Verrette (*ibid.*).
Newfoundland in the Period before the American Revolution. W. B. Kerr (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Jan.).
Baltimore's First Church. Francis W. Kunkel, S.S. (*Voice*, Mar.).
Education and the Classics in the Life of Colonial Virginia. Mrs. P. W. Hiden (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Jan.).
Irish Contribution to Colonial New York. R. J. Purcell (*Studies*, Dec.).
Early Ste. Geneviève and Its Architecture. Charles E. Peterson (*Missouri Historical Review*, Jan.).
The German Immigrants and Methodism in the U. S. A. F. P. Kenkel (*Social Justice Review*, Mar.).
Franciscan Missions among the Navajo Indians. IV. Emmanuel Trockus, O.F.M. (*Provincial Chronicle*, Cincinnati, XIII, 2).
American Jesuits in Science. James B. Macelwane (*Thought*, Mar.).
The Episcopal Church and Reunion, Part III: Reunion with the Eastern Churches. Percy V. Norwood (*Anglican Theological Review*, Jan.).
The Beginnings of the Apache Menace of Southwest. Donald E. Worcester (*New Mexico Historical Review*, Jan.).
Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670 (continued). Frances V. Scholes (*ibid.*).
Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1760 (continued). Henry W. Kelly (*ibid.*).
New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912 (continued). Marion Dargan (*ibid.*).
Some Aspects of Pueblo Indian Religion. William J. Robbins (*Harvard Theological Review*, Jan.).
The Beginning of Printing in America. Carlos E. Castañeda (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, Nov.).
Two Articles on Bernal Diaz del Castillo. Ramón Iglesia (*ibid.*).
Los cien años de la Jerarquía en California. Gerardo Decorme, S.J. (*Christus*, Mar.).
Los Papas y la Guadalupana [16th-20th century]. Jesús García Gutiérrez (*ibid.*).
Catholic Literary Revival in Mexico. James A. Magner (*Catholic World*, Jan.).
El primer centenario del nacimiento del Ilmo y Rvmo. Sr. Dr. D. José Antonio Plancarte y Labastida. José Castillo y Piña (*Christus*, Jan.).
Segunda entrada de los Jesuitas en la Sierra Madre. Fernando Ocaranza (*Investigaciones historicas*, Jan.).
La ciudad de Rivas, 1865-1875. Manuel Pasos Arana (*Rivista de la Academia de Geografía e Historia de Nicaragua*, III, 1940, 3).
La descendencia Atahuallpa. José G. Navarro. (*Boletín de la Acad. Nacional de Hist.*, Ecuador, Jul.-Dec.).
The Beginnings of Education in the Philippines (continued). Evergisto Bazaco, O.P. (*Unitas*, Dec.).

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here does not preclude extended notice in the REVIEW).

Alexander, Fred, *Australia and the United States* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1941. Pp. 68. $.50 Cloth and $.25 Paper Bound Edition). This pamphlet by the head of the department of history in the University of Western Australia, is the first of a series, entitled, America Looks Ahead, to be published by the World Peace Foundation. It contains seven brief chapters on Australian-American relations, a foreword by James Grafton Rogers of Yale University, and a short list of books on Australian affairs.

Ayerst, D. G. O., *Europe in the XIX Century* (New York: Macmillan Co.; Cambridge: At the University Press. 1941. Pp. xv, 432. $1.40).

Benedictine Liturgical Conference, *Proceedings of the First National Liturgical Week, 1940* (Newark: Benedictine Liturgical Conference. Pp. xi, 251. $2.00 Cloth, $1.50 Paper Bound Edition). This volume contains the sermons, papers, and discussions of the liturgical conference held in Chicago, October 21-25, 1940. The Foreword has been written by Archbishop Stritch.

Bendiscioli, Mario, *La Politica della Santa Sede, 1918-1938* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia. 1939. Pp. 187. 10L).

Catholic Conference of the South, *Report of the Proceedings and Addresses of the First Annual Meeting*, Atlanta, Georgia, April 14-16, 1940 (Richmond: Executive Headquarters, 810 E. Grace Street, 1941. Pp. v, 132. $1.00). This first *Report* of the newly organized Catholic Conference of the South, contains the addresses and discussions held on such topics as economic, rural, educational, and Negro problems as they concern the Church in the South. The Introduction to the volume has been written by Paul D. Williams, Executive Secretary of the Conference, in which he sketches the rise of the Conference and its objectives.

Clayton, Joseph, *Pope Innocent III and His Times* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1941. Pp. xvi, 204. $2.25).

Cooper, Lane, *Plato on the Trial and Death of Socrates* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 200. $2.00).

Corley, Francis J., S.J., and Robert J. Williams, S.J., *Wings of Eagles. The Jesuit Saints and Blessed* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1941. Pp. xiv, 206. $2.50).

County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1940. Pp. ix, 144).

De Blacam, Hugh, *Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1941. Pp. xi, 176. $2.25).

Duffey, William R., *Voice and Delivery. Training of Mind, Voice and Body for Speech* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1941. Pp. xii, 417. $2.50).

Essays in Modern English History in Honor of Wilbur Cortez Abbott (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 404. $3.50).

Faa di Bruno, Joseph, *Catholic Belief* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1940. Pp. viii, 199. 2/6). This volume is a completely revised edition of an earlier work. The revision has been done by Father Joseph Cartmell, who has extended the work to include modern problems.

Faulkner, Harold Underwood, Tyler Kepner, and Hall Bartlett, *The American Way of Life. A History* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. xviii, 738. $2.20). This is a new high school text in American history which is intended to embrace more of the material of the social sciences than previous texts of the kind. The book is furnished with numerous illustrations, maps, charts, and graphs which should do much to arrest and engage the attention of young minds.

Feeney, Leonard, S.J., *Survival Till Seventeen. Some Portraits of Early Ideas* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1941. Pp. 141. $1.50).

Grubbs, Henry A., *Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, His Life and Works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 310. $3.00).

Haydon, F. Stansbury, *Aeronautics in the Union and Confederate Armies. With a Survey of Military Aeronautics Prior to 1861.* Vol. I (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. Pp. xxii, 421. $4.00. 45 Plates). This is the first volume of a projected history of aeronautics in American military service. It owes its beginnings to a seminar assignment at Johns Hopkins University done under the direction of Professor William Stull Holt.

Heiser, Alta Harvey, *Quaker Lady, The Story of Charity Lynch* (Oxford, Ohio: Mississippi Valley Press. 1941. Pp. 273. $3.00).

Homans, George Caspar, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 478. $4.50).

Howe, Mark DeWolfe (Ed.), *Holmes-Pollock Letters: Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Sir Frederick Pollock 1874-1932*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 275; 321. $7.50).

Jordan, W. K., *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. 499. $5.00).

Kelly, John Bernard, *Cardinal Hayes, One of Ourselves* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. 1940. Pp. xiv, 178. $1.50).

Keyes, Frances Parkinson, *The Grace of Guadalupe* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc. 1941. Pp. x, 185. $2.00). A story of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Indian, Juan Diego, by the author of the popular works on the Little Flower and St. Bernadette.

Koontz, Louis Knott, *Robert Dinwiddie. His Career in American Colonial Government and Western Expansion* (Glendale, Cal: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1941. Pp. 429. $6.00).

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *The Great Century A. D. 1800–A. D. 1914. Europe and the United States of America* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. viii, 516. $3.50).

MacDonald, Hugh (Ed.), *Observations upon a late Libel, called a Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend, concerning the King's Declaration, etc.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. 51. $1.00). This brochure is based upon the manuscript of an anonymous defense of Charles II's declaration of 1681. The manuscript was discovered by MacDonald in the library of Trinity College. The editor ascribes the authorship to the Earl of Halifax in his introduction and gives a brief bibliography.

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